ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PALLAVAS

C. MINAKSHI

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ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PALLAVAS

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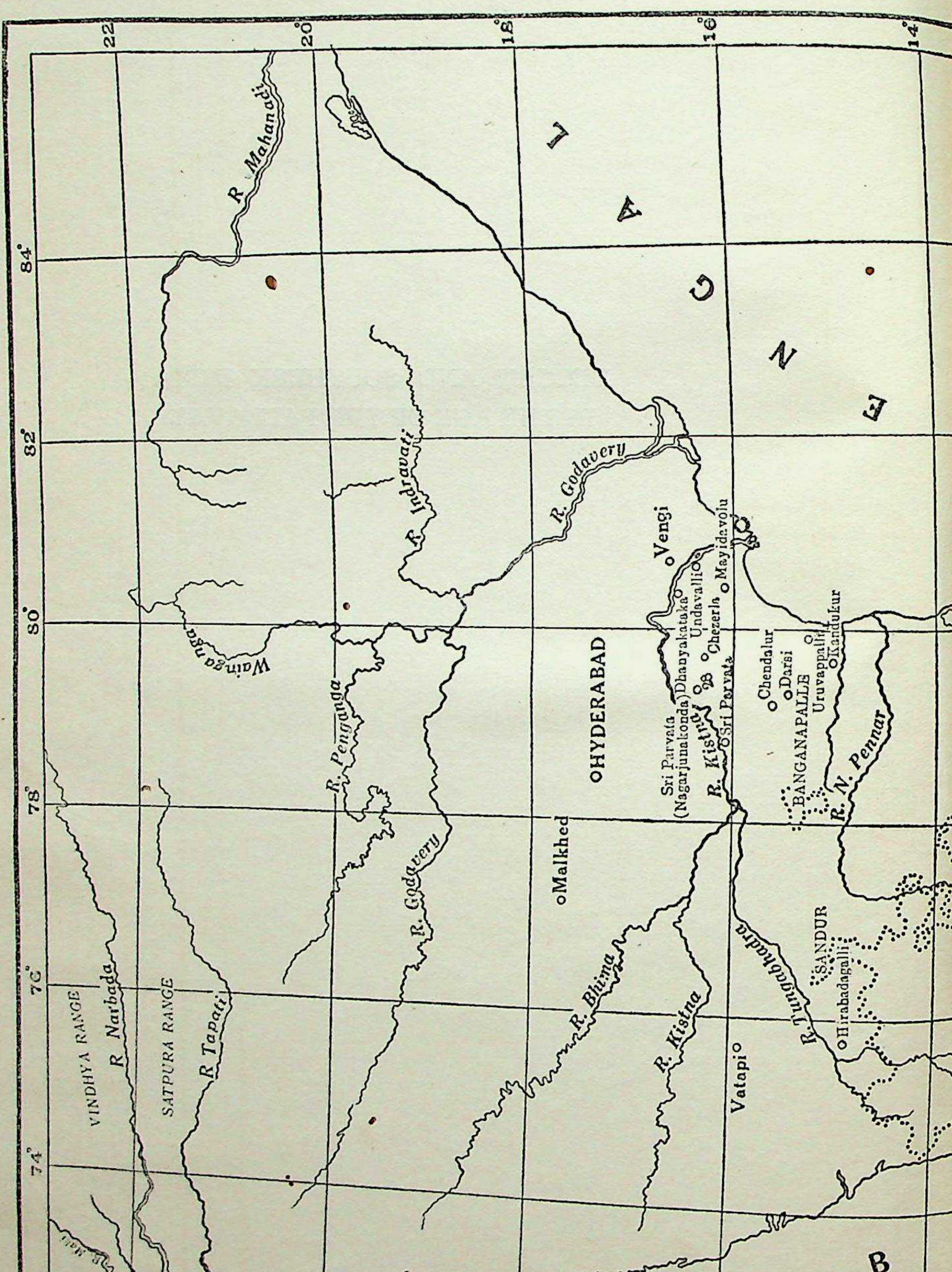
DECCAN AND SOUTHERN INDIA
IN THE AGE OF THE PALLAVAS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Chezerla
Sri Parvata (Nagarjunakonda)
R. Kistna
Sri Parvata
Chendalur
Darsi
BANGANAPALLE
Uruvappalli
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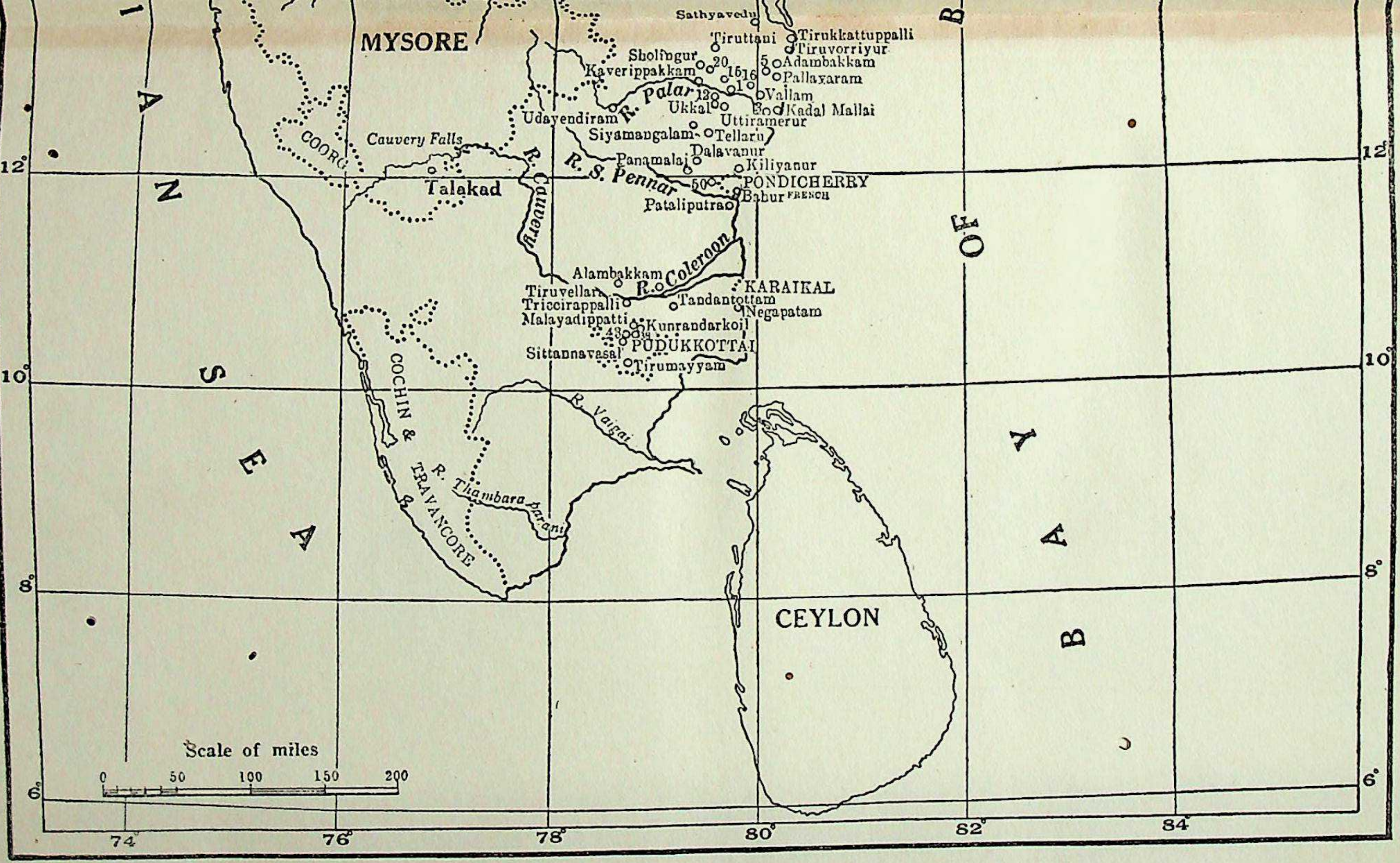
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R. Palar
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Uttiramerur
Siyamangalam
Tellaru
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Panamalai
Kiliyanur
R. S. Pennar
PONDICHERRY
Bahur
FRENCH
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Alambakkam
R. Coleroon
KARAIKAL
Tiruvellarai
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DECCAN AND SOUTHERN INDIA IN THE AGE OF THE PALLAVAS.

1. *Kanci*, 2. Kadal Mallai, 3. *Tirukkalukunram*, 4. Pallavaram, 5. *Mangadu*, 6. Adambakkam, 7. Vallam, 8. Dalavanur, 9. Uttiramerur, 10. Satyavedu, 11. Tiruvorriyur, 12. *Mamandur*, 13. Ukkal, 14. Tirukkattuppalli, 15. *Paramesvaramangalam* or *Kuram*, 16. *Tenneri*, 17. Udayendiram, 18. Tellaru, 19. Kaverippakkam, 20. *Mahendravadi*, 21. Sholingur, 22. Tiruttani, 23. Pataliputra, 24. Kiliyanur, 25. Panamalai, 26. Bahur, 27. Undavalli, 28. *Sri Parvata*, 29. Sri Parvata, 30. Dhanyakataka, 31. Hirahadagalli, 32. Mayidavolu, 33. Uruvapalli, 34. Mangadur, 35. Chezerla, 36. Tiruvellarai, 37. Alambakkam, 38. *Kudumiyamalai*, 39. Sittannavasal, 40. Tirumayyam, 41. Malayadippatti, 42. Kunrandarkoil, 43. *Narttamalai*, 44. Tandantottam, 45. Vatapi, 46. Talakad, 47. Malkhed, 48. Vengi, 49. Negapatam, 50. *Mandagapattu*, 51. Siyamangalam, 52. Tiruccirappalli, 53. Kandukur, 54. Darsi, 55. Chendalur.

Names in italics are not given in the body of the map.

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ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PALLAVAS

BY

C. MINAKSHI, M.A., PH.D.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
1938

Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

PREFACE

Administration and Social life under the Pallavas formed, together with Pallava Art, the subject of Dr. C. Minakshi's study during the years 1931-34 when she was a research student in this department. The largest and perhaps the most important part of the thesis which she wrote and on which she took the Ph.D. degree, is now published under the sanction of the Syndicate of the University of Madras.

In it Dr. Minakshi has attempted a systematic review and estimate of the administrative and social data gathered from contemporary inscriptions and literature, and though every reader of the book may not accept all the interpretations offered here for the first time, none can fail to recognise the general value of the work. For the period before the seventh century A.D., the sources are meagre and discontinuous, and this has naturally stood in the way of a full and detailed account of the social life of this period. Some of the more doubtful passages of Pallava history have been reconsidered in the introductory part of the book, and some attention given also to the overseas relations of the Pallava kingdom. The material becomes more copious after the accession of Simhaviṣṇu, and the bulk of the work is therefore devoted to this period. The educational institutions and the system of music obtaining at the time have, it will be observed, received somewhat detailed treatment.

The age of the great Pallavas of the Simhaviṣṇu line was perhaps the most formative period of South Indian Culture. It was an age of great art and great literature. A widespread and popular religious revival swept the face of the land, and was marked by celebrated contests between the upholders and traducers of Vedic forms of religion. Temple architecture and portrait sculpture attained forms of excellence that have remained models for all later times. And the area of the influence of Tamil culture spread beyond the seas into the colonies of the East. In attempting in this little book to make some contribution towards the correct understanding of the life and institutions of this splendid period, Dr. Minakshi has undertaken and accomplished a difficult and necessary task.

University of Madras,
17th November, 1938.

K.A.N.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book along with two others (these are being published separately elsewhere) namely "The historical sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, Kāñcī", and "The Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñcī" are the fruits of my researches into the history of the Pallavas during three years (1931-34) when I was a research student in the department of Indian history and Archaeology working under Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. They were submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, awarded to me in March 1936 by the University of Madras.

In the task of writing this volume I received the most substantial measure of help, advice and encouragement at the hands of my Professor. For this and for his kindness in going through the proofs and offering many valuable suggestions while editing the book, I am deeply beholden to him. Professor Sastri was also good enough to secure for me from Professor Coedès, Director of Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, permission to publish in this book the English translation of Dr. Goloubew's article on '*Les legendes de la Nāgī et de l' Apsaras*'.

I am also indebted to Śrī Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for placing at my disposal various unpublished inscriptions, both texts and estampages, whenever I required them for use.

Śrī T. Srinivasa Raghavan willingly helped me with his valuable suggestions over the interpretation of the Kuḍumiyāmalai musical notations. Rao Bahadur E. K. Govindan, the former Adminicstrative officer of the Pudukkottah State, rendered me immense facilities for examining *in situ* the Pallava monuments and inscriptions of the State. Śrī Venkatarangam Raju supplied me with fresh tracings of the painting of the Jaina cave at Śittanavāśal; Śrī T. N. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey of India and Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai of the Tamil department of the University of Madras gave much friendly advice and criticism during the entire period of my research, and my brother, Śrī C. Lakshminarayanan, Professor of Zoology, Madras Christian College, ungrudgingly accompanied me in all my archaeological tours and also helped me to photograph many monuments and sculptures. To all these gentlemen who have helped me in various ways I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (*Contd.*)

I also tender my sincere thanks to Śrī Janardhanam, the Librarian of the Connemara Public Library, and his assistants who have always actively helped me whenever I went to them for help.

To the Syndicate of the Madras University who have sanctioned the publication of this volume in the University Historical Series I express my profound gratitude.

I am very thankful to Messrs. Klein & Peyerl for kindly permitting me to reproduce their photographs contained in plates I and VI ; finally, I should not omit to mention with thankfulness the excellent manner in which Messrs. G. S. Press have produced the book in a short period.

C. MINAKSHI.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface .. v

Acknowledgments .. vii

List of Illustrations .. xi

Abbreviations .. xiii

PART I. INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER

I. The Pallavas in Kanci .. 1

II. The Northern Element in Pallava Rule .. 19

PART II. ADMINISTRATION

III. Administration .. 37

IV. Ministry .. 49

V. Revenue and Taxation .. 71

VI. Weights and Measures .. 84

VII. Water Supply and Irrigation .. 94

VIII. Famines .. 112

IX. Provincial and Local Governments .. 121

X. The Economic Life of the Village .. 135

PART III. SOCIAL LIFE

XI. Society .. 159

XII. Religion and Religious Institutions .. 170

XIII. The Educational Institutions of the Pallavas .. 186

XIV. Buddhist Centres of Learning .. 213

XV. Jaina Seats of Learning .. 227

XVI. Music .. 239

XVII. The Technique of the Music .. 256

XVIII. Dancing .. 276

XIX. Painting .. 288

XX. Literature .. 299

Index .. 307

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece.				Deccan and Southern India in the age of the Pallavas.
Plate	I.	Fig.	1.	Shore temple, Māmallapuram.
„	I.	„	2.	Cave and structural monument.
„	II.	„	3.	Portrait of a Pallava King and Queen—Māmallapuram.
„	II.	„	4.	Portrait of Pallava Malla and Queen—Uttiramerūr.
„	III.	„	5.	Gangādhara—Kailāsanātha temple.
„	III.	„	6.	Kuñcita mode of dancing of Śiva.
„	IV.	„	7.	Vālīśvara—Kāñcī.
„	IV.	„	8.	Sundaravarada perumāḷ—Uttiramerūr.
„	V.	„	9.	Kailāsanātha—Kāñcī.
„	V.	„	10.	Iravāsthānam—Kāñcī.
„	VI.	„	11.	Anthropomorphic form of Śiva plus Linga—Māmallapuram.
„	VI.	„	12.	Head offering.
„	VII.	„	13.	Woman Dancer, Gajahasta pose. Sittannavāśal.
„	VII.	„	14.	Talasamsphōṭita dance of Śiva. Kāñcī.
„	VIII.	„	15.	Latāvṛścika hand pose. Sittannavāśal.
„	VIII.	„	16.	Mahendra and Queen.
„	IX.	„	17.	Design of the Painting on the ceiling of the sanctum. Sittannavāśal.
„	IX.	„	18.	Jaina Tīrthankara.
„	X.	„	19.	Plan of the Swastika well, Tiruvellarai.
„	X.	„	20.	Impalement, Kāñcī.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ant.	List of Antiquities, Madras Presidency, Sewell.
Ar. Sur. Rep.	Archaeological Survey Reports.
A.S.W.I.	Archaeological Survey of Western India.
B.E.F.E.O.	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.
B.S.O.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
Cor. Insc. Ind.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Ep. Car.	Epigraphia Carnatica.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
Hind. Ad. Ins.	Hindu Administrative Institutions, S. K. Aiyangar.
H.I.	Hindu Iconography.
Ind. Ant. or I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique.
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.O.R	Journal of Oriental Research.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Mac. Col.	Mackenzie Collection.
Mad. Ep. Rep.	Madras Epigraphy Reports.
Mys. Arch. Rep.	Mysore Archaeological Reports.
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East.
S. Dic.	Sanskrit Dictionary.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
Studies	Studies in Cōḷa History, K. A. N. Sastri.

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

THE PALLAVAS IN KĀÑCĪ.

The duration of Pallava rule in Kāñcī.

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was the land of the Pallavas *par excellence* ; they held sway there for over six centuries ; Kāñcī[1] was their capital and the celebrated Mallai[2] on the sea-coast, their chief port. In the beginning, they also ruled over parts of the Deccan; our knowledge of this earlier phase of Pallava history is very limited.

Inscriptions are generally a more trustworthy source than literature in India; the earliest Pallava charters, and those of other contemporary dynasties, enable us to state that a member of the Pallava family must have established himself as the overlord of Kāñcī sometime towards the end of the second century A.D. or a little later.

The earliest Pallava copper-plates are written in the Prākṛt dialects. There are three such copper-plates—the Mayiḍavōlu Grant of Yuva-Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman,[3] the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi Plates[4] of Dharmamāhārājādhirāja Śivaskandavarman, and the British Museum Plates of Queen Cārudevī.[5] Of these, the first two make it clear that the royal orders sanctioning the gifts of the Yuva-mahārāja and the Dharmamahārājādhirāja respectively were issued from Kāñcī, their seat of government in the South.[6] It has been demonstrated that the Mayidavōlu grant is the earliest Pallava copper-plate and that its alphabet bears close affinity to the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman[7] and the Kārle Inscriptions of

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[1] Kāñcī is the modern town of Conjeevaram 45 miles S.W. of Madras.

[2] Kaḍal Mallai or Māmallapuram, popularly known as Mahābalipuram, a misnomer ; best known to Europeans as "Seven Pagodas."

[3] Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 84.

[4] Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 2.

[5] Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 143.

[6] Father Heras writes : "The Hīrahaḍagalli Plates of Yuva Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman and the Mayidavōlu Plates of Vijayaskandavarman were both issued from Kāñcī" (*Studies in Pallava History*—p. 5). This is indeed a slip. It is the Mayiḍavōlu Grant whose donor is the Yuva Mahārāja. Again it must be noted that the prefix "Vijaya" which Father Heras has adduced above, is absent in both these grants.

[7] A.S.W.I. Vol. I, p. 112. Koṇḍamuḍi Plates of Jayavarman are published in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, by Hultzsch, who remarks: "The alphabet of this

Gautamīputra[8] Sātakarṇi and the Nāsik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhī Putra Puḷumāyi.[9] This favours the view that the prince who is mentioned in the Mayidavōlu Plates could not have been far removed from the above-mentioned kings in point of time.

Further, the name of Vīṣṇugōpa of Kāñcī recorded in the Allahabad Pillar of Samudra Gupta[10] stands as a specific landmark in the history of Pallava rule in Kāñcī. It is reasonable to suppose that the Pallavas must have been established for some generations in Kāñcī and attained celebrity before they came to be considered as foemen worthy of the attention of the great Gupta conqueror and their discomfiture was set down in the *praśasti* of Samudra Gupta, early in the fourth century A.D., among his chief claims to glory.

Again, in the Tāḷaguṇḍa[11] inscription of the Kadamba Kākusthavarman, Kāñcī is called "Pallavēndrapurī", the city of the Lord of the Pallavas. If this epithet may be accepted as describing the city in the age of Mayūraśarman, and there is nothing that can be urged against this assumption, we see the Pallavas established in Kāñcī a little after the middle of the third century A.D.; for though much is uncertain about the contents of the Candravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman, its palaeography surely justifies the date suggested for it.[12]

Let us also recall the well-known fact that the Pallavas as such are unknown to the earliest Tamil literature of the Śangam, assigned, on valid grounds, to the early centuries B.C. and A.D.[13] It is clear that the establishment of the Pallavas in Kāñcī came after the close of this early period of Tamil literature.

Thus we may fix the initial date of Pallava rule in Kāñcī sometime in the first half of the third century A.D.

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inscription closely resembles that of the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman"—p. 315.

[8] Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji—in Bombay Gaz.—Vol. XVI.

[9] Ep. Indica, Vol. VIII, pp. 59-90.

[10] Cor. Insc. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 1 to 17—Fleet.

[11] Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 32.

[12] Mys. Arch. Rep. 1929, pp. 50-58.
Other details from this inscription are discussed in the chapter "Hindu Educational Institutions under the Pallavas."

[13] See Gopalan—*Pallavas of Kāñcī* pp. 23-24, for a discussion and rejection of the theory which sees in the Tiraiyar the ancestors of the Pallavas.

We may now seek the date of the decline of Pallava rule in the South.

It has been generally presumed that Aparājita was the last of the imperial line of the Pallava kings. (The relationship of Aparājita with his predecessors is not clear. Venkayya[14] suggested that Aparājita was the son of Nṛpatunga, while Gopinātha Raō has rather hastily identified him with Nṛpatunga himself.[15]) Now, there are over a dozen inscriptions of Aparājita dated from the third to the eighteenth year of his reign and these definitely speak of him as a "Pōttaraiyan", a significant title borne by Nṛpatunga and his immediate predecessors. Further, two specific historical events are connected with the name of Aparājita. The first is the well-known battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam[16] (Tiruppuṟambiyam, near Kumbakoṇam), where Aparājita had for his ally the Western Gaṅgā King Prithivīpati I against the Pāṇḍyas; the second is the defeat of Aparājita by Āditya I.

It is probable that the first event furnishes a hint about the relationship of Aparājita to his predecessor Nṛpatuṅga; doubtless the second event marks the end of Pallava sway over Kāñcī and over the other parts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.

Recent researches[17] in the chronology of the later Pallavas tend to show that Nṛpatunga must have lived after the battle of

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[14] Annual Report 1906. Part II, No. 9, p. 47.

[15] *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, p. 538. Gopinatha Rao's remarks are:—"As regards Aparājita, there is absolutely no difficulty. From a closer examination of the Udayēndiram grant of Prithivipati II, it would become patent that Prithivīpati I had a friend named Aparājita. The last date available for Prithivīpati I is 878 A.D. If this be taken to be the date of the death of Prithivīpati I, the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam must have taken place in that year. If Aparājita be taken to be a son or successor of Nṛpatunga, then the latter must be said to have ended his reign before 878 A.D. But this was not the case, since two of the Guḍimallam inscriptions of the Bāṇa Vijayāditya quoted above are dated Śaka 820 and 827 in the reign of Nṛpatunga. Therefore, this Aparājita with whom Prithivīpati I sustained a defeat at Tiruppuṟambiyam must be identical with Nṛpatungavarman."

[16] No. 67 of the Madras Survey Map of Kumbakōṇam Taluk. See Sewell *List of Antiquities* Vol. I, p. 275.

[17] (a) "The date of Nandivarman Pallava Malla"—Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, J.O.R. Madras, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff; (b) Mr. Śarma's paper on "The chronology of the later Pallavas;" G. V. Rāmamūrti Pantulu commemoration Vol. p. 142; (c) T. N. Ramachandran's paper "On the last date of Nṛpatunga"; (d) Mr. Śarma's note on "Nṛpatunga"—J.O.R. Vol. VIII, part II p. 165.

Śrī Purambiyam, 880 A.D., and this leads us to the inference that Aparājita was perhaps only a prince when he fought against the powerful Pāṇḍya.

The friendly relations between the Pallavas and the Gaṅgās were very close as is seen from several references in Gaṅgā records to their being crowned by Pallava rulers. The Penukoṇḍa Plates of Mādhava II[18] relate that the Gaṅgā prince Āryavarman was "duly installed on the throne by Simhavarma Mahārāja, the lord of the prosperous Pallava family" and that Āryavarman's son Mādhava Mahārājādhirāja II was duly installed on the throne by the illustrious Pallava king Skandavarman.

Again, more than one Western Gaṅgā Grant[19] tells us that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda and the Pallava king Nandivarman, both crowned kings themselves, fastened "the fillet of royalty on the forehead of the Western Gaṅgā prince Śivamāra Saigōṭṭa."[20] Therefore, it seems probable that in the last quarter of the ninth century the relationship between the Gaṅgās and the Pallavas became closer by a dynastic alliance.

A copper plate of Nṛpatunga dated in his sixth year[21] seems to imply that the contemporary Western Gaṅgā king was the grandfather of Aparājita. Nothing is known of this grant since Mr. Sewell noticed it. Its genealogy raises some difficulties which need not be pursued here. The interesting point in the grant is that Nṛpatunga had a queen by name Prithivī Māṇikkam.[22] This is confirmed by two stone inscriptions[23] of Nṛpatunga mentioning a measure called Pirudimāṇikkam, evidently named after his queen. As the name suggests, it is possible that she was the daughter of Pirudi Gaṅgaraiyar, that is, Prithivīpati I, the contemporary of Nṛpatunga and hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that Aparājita was the son of Nṛpatuṅga by the daughter of Prithivīpati I and that the Western Gaṅgā King was really helping his grandson against the Pāṇḍyas in the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam. But if this is correct, it is somewhat difficult to say why Aparājita is called only Suhṛt (friend) of the Gaṅgā ruler.

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[18] (a) Mad. Ep. Rep. 1914, p. 83, para 3; (b) Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV, p. 331 ff. Ed. Rice.

[19] In the Maṉṉe grant we have the incident mentioned for the first time —Ep. Carnatica, Vol. IX, N.A. 60.

[20] (a) Fleet's identifications of the Raṣṭrakūṭa and the Pallava kings respectively are observed in Ep. Ind. V, p. 158; (b) K. V. S. Iyer's remark on this incident is contained in Ep. Ind. XX, p. 49 and N. 13; (c) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri's criticism of K. V. S. Iyer's identification is found in *The Journal of Indian History* XI, part i, p. 19; (d) Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's observation on the same incident is contained in J.O.R. VIII, part i, p. 1 ff.

[21] Sewell—list II, p. 30.

[22] (a) Prithivī Māṇikkam is mentioned in the grant as the daughter of Bhānumāli who might have been the queen of Prithivīpati I; (b) According to Mr. Sewell's reading, the lands granted by Nṛpatunga were situated in a village called Pratimādēvi Caturvēdimaṅgalam, which I think is the same as Prithivī Mahādēvi Caturvēdimaṅgalam mentioned in an inscription of the Cōḷa king Rājarājakēśarivarman from North Arcot, (281 of 1906). This village probably received its name from Nṛpatunga's queen Prithivīmāṇikkam; (c) It is quite possible that the Viṣṇu temple at Ukkal was built by this queen of Nṛpatunga. See Note A on the age of Ukkal and its Viṣṇu temple.

The overthrow of Aparājita and the Cōḷa conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam have been placed about A.D. 890.[24] It would seem that Aparājita whose inscriptions contain regnal years up to the eighteenth or nineteenth, must have reigned conjointly with Nṛpatunga for most of the time, for the latter is seen now to have lived up to about 882 A.D. In fact, it is not too much to suggest that Aparājita was deprived of his kingdom by Āditya I, soon after the death of Nṛpatunga and the commencement of the sole rule of Aparājita. This reconstruction of the last phase of Pallava history furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the narrow range of the provenance of Aparājita's inscriptions.[25]

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[23] 460 & 461 of 1905.

[24] Nilakanta Śāstri—*The Cōḷas* I, p. 136.

[25]

Chingleput District	(1) Puduppākkam	3rd year	62 of 1923
	(2) Māṅgāḍu	3rd "	351 of 1908
	(3) Satyavēḍu	4th "	31 of 1912
	(4) "	5th "	32 of 1912
	(5) Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	4th "	158 of 1912
	(6) "	4th "	161 of 1912
	(7) "	6th "	190 of 1912
	(8) "	7th "	163 of 1912
	(9) "	8th "	159 of 1912
	(10) "	12th "	180 of 1912
Chittoor District	(11) Tiruttani	18th "	435 of 1905
	(12) "	18th "	433 of 1905
Chingleput District	(13) Parandūr	Parakēsarivarman 14th year	74 of 1923
	(Mentions Aparājita Caturvēdimaṅgalam).		
	(14) Uttiramērūr	Tirubhuvana Vīradēva	396 of 1923
	(Mentions the 19th year of Aparājita)		
	(15) Ukkal—had the name of Aparājita Caturvēdimaṅgalam—S.I.I. Vol. III, p. 2.		

It may be observed in passing that though Gopinātha Raō was not justified in identifying Aparājita with Nṛpatunga, still his chronological instinct was correct and he saw that there was no long interval between the death of Nṛpatunga and the fall of the Pallava Kingdom. Thus the duration of the kingdom of Kāñcī under the Pallavas covers a period of over six centuries, from the middle of the 3rd century to the end of the ninth.

The first Pallava King in Kāñcī.

The exact identity of the first Pallava ruler of Kāñcī is yet a problem. Attempts have been made to fix this individual, the latest being that of Father Heras, who contends that Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavōlu and the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates identified by him with Kumāraviṣṇu of the Sanskrit charters, established himself as the first Pallava king in the South by conquering Kāñcī from the Cōḷas.[26] The truth of this important statement cannot be accepted readily as the main point at issue, namely, the reference to the "conquest of Kāñcī" by Kumāraviṣṇu is contained only in a single grant of a comparatively late Pallava King.[27]

We have said that the Mayidavōlu grant is generally taken to be the earliest copper plate issued from Kāñcīpuram and since the donor of it is the Yuvamahārāja who has dated his grant the tenth year of the ruling king, to our knowledge therefore the ruling king must have been the earliest of the Pallava kings of Kāñcī. The Mayidavōlu plates do not tell us if the predecessor of Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman was his father. Again, there is the possibility that the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates and the Mayiḍavōlu plates were issued by one and the same individual; in which case, the Yuvamahārāja, the donor of the Mayidavōlu plates, is the same as the Dharmamahārājādhirāja, the donor of the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates.[28] The Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates mention a Mahārāja Bappasvāmi who, according to some scholars, was the father of Śivaskandavarman and therefore, the first Pallava king of Kāñcī.[29] This easy suggestion cannot be entertained, because it is by no means clear that Bappasvāmi was a king of the Pallava line; this question may be studied in the light of the references to Bappabhaṭṭāraka.

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[26] *Studies in Pallava History*—Ch. 2.

[27] Vēlūrpāḷaiyam Plates of Nandivarman III—S.I.I. Vol. II, part 5.

[28] D. C. Sircar has recently contributed an article on "The Date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, J.I.H., Vol. XIII, part 3, 1934. He maintains that the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi and the Mayidavōlu Plates were issued by one and the same individual and that the Vijayaskandavarman of the British Museum Plates ruled possibly a little later than Śivaskanda who is believed to have begun his rule in about A.D. 300.

[29] Bühler—Ep. Ind. I, p. 2.

" Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka pāda bhaktaḥ " is an expression appearing in the early and later Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. The Cēndalūr, the Pīkīra, the Udayēndiram, the Māngadur and the Omgōḍu grants of the Pallavas describe the reigning sovereigns as " devoted to the feet of Bappa Bhaṭṭārakạ ".

Such a description of the ruling monarch moreover, is not confined to Pallava inscriptions. In the Vēngī grant [30] Mahārāja Vijaya Nandivarman, a ruler who belonged to the Śālankāyana dynasty is spoken of as " Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka pāda bhaktaḥ ". That there was close affinity between the Śālankāyanas who ruled from about A.D. 340 to about A.D. 480, and the Pallavas, is certain; however, it is difficult to say if the Pallavas borrowed the use of the expression " Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka pāda bhaktaḥ " in their inscriptions from the Śālankāyanas or vice versa.

In the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch, the Kōmārti plates [31] of Caṇḍavarman of Kalinga belong palaeographically to the same period as the Śālankāyana grant of Vijaya Nandivarman. In this grant the ruler Caṇḍavarman professes to be the worshipper of the feet of Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka.

" Bappa " without the other noun " Bhaṭṭāraka " in apposition is used in several inscriptions other than those of the Pallavas but under similar circumstances. The Valabhi rulers of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. are represented in their grants as the devotees of the feet of Bappa. " Śrī Bappa padānudhyātaḥ " is the epithet preceding the name of Śīlāditya IV, V, VI and VII. [32]

Śivadēva I, [33] Amśuvarman [34] and Jiṣṇu Gupta, [35] the rulers of Nepāl during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., introduced themselves in their state grants as the devotees of the feet of Bappa.

With these references before us, are we to conclude that Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka must be identified with a single individual who had left a lasting name and whose memory was cherished by the various

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30. Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 176.
31. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 142.
32. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 84—lines 53-55, 57, 58 & 63.
33. Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, p. 98.
34. Ind. Ant. Vol. IX, p. 169.
35. Ind. Ant. Vol. IX, p. 171.

kings of ancient India ? At least history knows of no such person who could have commanded such extraordinary veneration from these several royal families throughout India.

That "Bappa" by itself cannot mean anything but "father" is certain. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that in Kanarese "Bappa" appears in the form of "Boppa".[36] "Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka" therefore must mean "Lord Father". Once this is clear, the significance of the use of "Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka" is easy to understand. Evidently, it was a general surname or title of honour borne from time to time by some one whom the king respected and looked up to for guidance as one would do to a father.

The Pallava copper plates bear testimony to this use of the title. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III clearly state that the builder of the Śiva temple at Śrīkāṭṭuppaḷḷi was one Yagñabhaṭṭa who was surnamed "Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka". He is further described as a person who was, "learned, modest and of established virtues, who was widely famous for his knowledge in the Śāstras, the Vēdas and the Sāṅkhya and was celebrated for his persistent devotion to Śiva". No one could have been better fitted to be Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka of Nandivarman III than this Yagñabhaṭṭa, for he was rich both in knowledge and in piety.

Ancient history tells us that religious preceptors and heads of religious institutions were looked upon with great veneration by royal personages, and very probably Yagñabhaṭṭa was occupying the position of a guru to Nandivarman III.

A much earlier Pallava Grant, the Kūram plates[37] of Paramēśvaravarman I, mentions a Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka. Unfortunately, this portion of the copper plates is badly mutilated; still the location of the name in the midst of sentences which speak of the offering of bali and feeding and the existence of the words "dēvadamāgāninṟa" before, and "kāttukkoḍukka" after the name "Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka" suggest that this above-mentioned person was responsible for protecting the gifts set apart for the performance of the sacred rites in the temple of Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara.

The description of Nandivarman Pallava Malla in the Kāśākuḍi Plates[38] as a monarch "whose might is increasing in consequence of his meditation on the feet of Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka" (Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka padānudhyāna vardhamāna mahimā) is very significant here. A powerful king like Nandivarman II would not have shown such extreme devotion to any one else but towards his own religious preceptor.

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[36] Ind. Ant. Vol. XV, p. 276.

In Sanderson's edition of Reeve's Sanskrit Dictionary, this word is marked as one common to most Indian Languages.

[37] S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 151, ll. 87 and 88.

[38] S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 350.

This understanding of the surname "Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka" in Pallava Epigraphy derives support from the literary reference to "Bappa Appar" found in the Periya Tirumoḻi of Tirumaṅgaimannan. From this verse Pandit M. Rāghava Iyengar[39] concludes that Bappa Appar, the same as Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka of the Sanskrit inscriptions, must refer to Tirumaṅgai himself. It is certain that during the time of Tirumaṅgai, there would have been no one more worthy of being so addressed than this great poet-philosopher and religious teacher. Probably Tirumaṅgai stood in the same position to his contemporary Pallava King Nandivarman II as Yagñabhaṭṭa to Nandivarman III. There seem to be at the outset a few exceptions to the general conclusion that the term "Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka pāda bhaktaḥ" in Pallava inscriptions denotes the king as the disciple of Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka, his preceptor. However, in the light of the above discussion, the following references, as we shall see presently, do not stand in our way of accepting the general conclusion reached here.

The Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman of the Uruvappaḷḷi grant[40] is represented as the worshipper of the feet of Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja. Since Simhavarman was the ruling king and Viṣṇugōpavarman only a Yuvamahārāja, a doubt may arise as to whether Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja refers to the ruling king or to the preceptor. I am inclined to think that it relates to the latter. Instances in literature and general usage are not wanting to show that Ācāryas and other religious heads were frequently invested with the same titles as kings. The gurus of Śringēri Mutt assumed the titles "Śrīmad Rājādhi Rājā Bhūmaṇḍalācārya" etc. Similar titles, like Brahmarājan, were given to Brahman ministers.[41] Besides, if kings were known as Rājarṣis[42] because of their piety and devotion, it stands to reason that preceptors who were a source of great inspiration and help to kings in the spheres of religion and politics and held a definite official position in the state could also be addressed as Mahārāja.

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[39] See his discussion on the same subject—*Aḻvārgaḷ Kālanilai* (Tamil).

[40] Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 50.

[41] The Śaiva saint Māṇikkavāśagar was given the title of honour "Tennavan Brahmarāyan."

[42] Janaka, Daśaratha and Duṣyanta were all known as Rājarṣis.

This leads us to the consideration of the identification of Mahārāja Bappa Svāmi of the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi Plates.[43] First, we should note that the title Mahārāja need not necessarily mean that he was of royal descent; and secondly, we cannot proceed on the basis of the mere fact that "Bappa" means father, to infer that Mahārāja Bappa Svāmi was the father of Śivaskandavarman. The contents of the grant are as follows:—For some unknown reasons Śivaskandavarman, the Pallava king, confirms the gift of a Brahmadēya village formerly made by one Mahārāja Bappa Svāmi. We have already explained the significance of the title "Mahārāja" attached to the names of preceptors. Now, regarding the second point, there is nothing to indicate the relationship of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman with Mahārāja Bappa Svāmi. If the latter was either the father or some near ancestor of Śivaskandavarman, the omission of the name of Bappa Svāmi in the subsequent genealogies is not easy to explain. But if it is to be understood that it was the preceptor who was the former donor, it reasonably explains not only the omission of his name in the regular Pallava genealogy, but also the necessity for the confirmation of the grant by the ruling king.[44]

The above discussion suggests that the predecessor of Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavōlu grant was not Mahārāja Bappa Svāmi of the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates. But that there was a ruling king in Kāñcī when the Yuvamahārāja granted the village of Viripara* is sufficiently clear. Therefore, we may admit that the unknown predecessor of Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman was the first Pallava king of Kāñcī, though we are unable to establish the exact relationship of the Yuvamahārāja to his predecessor.

The Origin of the Pallavas.

The origin of the Pallavas is still as obscure as ever.[45] There are many indications pointing to a North Indian origin of this line of rulers; their earliest charters are in the Prākṛt language and they are from the beginning patrons of Sanskrit learning and culture. But the attempt to connect them with the foreign tribe of the Pahlavas fails to take account of the distinction between the tribal name Pahlavas,[46] and that of the ruling dynasty—Pallava; it also ignores the local traditions centering round Pallava, sprout. Aśvatthāmā is said to have cradled his baby in a litter of sprouts and the title Pōttaraiyar adopted by several rulers of the line is most probably connected with Pōttu—Tamil, a tender sprout. The word Pōttu has indeed another meaning, the bull, quite appropriate to designate these monarchs. Again, Naccinārkkiniyar, the celebrated annotator of the Tamil Classics, narrates a story that has become, in modern times, the starting point of a theory which, with several variations, seeks to establish a Tamil origin for the Pallavas.

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[43] Ep. Ind. Vol. I, No. 1.

[44] There was perhaps a dispute over the grant made by Bappa Svāmi, and the gift in danger of becoming invalid. The beneficiaries under the gift, therefore, would have appealed to the ruling king of the time at Kāñcī, to confirm the gift and render it permanent or possibly, all gifts made by other authorities in the State had to be confirmed by the king.

* See Note B.

[45] A summarised account of the views of all the previous writers on

Possibly basing himself on an earlier text, the *Maṇimēkalai*,[47] Naccinārkkiniyar states that a Cōḷa ruler of Nāgappaṭṭiṇam who had a liaison with a Nāga princess of the nether-world left word with her that if on the sea she floated the issue of their love with a *toṇḍai* creeper round its neck, and if the child reached the shore safe, he would recognise him as his own baby and give him a part of the kingdom for his appanage. Naccinārkkiniyar states that this was the origin of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and of the Tiraiyar (the wavemen), who were no other than the Pallavas.

Valuable as an indication of what was once believed, this late story cannot obviously bear the burden of the modern reconstruc-

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" the Origin of the Pallavas " with fitting criticisms are contained in Gopalan, *The Pallavas of Kāñcī*, pp. 15-31.

The writers who favoured the Northern origin for the Pallavas are:— Vincent Smith—*Early History of India* (1904) p. 348, and Smith in fact revised his original theory and later on concluded that the Pallavas belong to the South ; Venkayya—Ar. Survey Report 1906-7, pp. 219-221 ; Lewis Rice—*Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions*—p. 53.

The writers who favoured the indigenous origin for the Pallavas are :— Elliot—*Coins of South India* pp. 38 et seq—connected the Pallavas with the Kurumbar tribe of South India ; M. S. Rāmasvāmi Aiyangar—*Studies in South Indian Jainism* p. 143—suggested the theory that 'Tiraiyar' of the Tamil literature are synonymous with the Pallavas of the early charters ; Rasanāyagam Mudaliar—Indian Ant. Vol. LII, pp. 75-80 tried to discover the home of the Pallavas in the Island of 'Maṇi Pallavam' which he identified with Jaffna.

[46] Venkayya, Ar. Sur. Rep. 1906-7, pp. 219-221.

[47] cf. Nilakanta Śāstri—*Studies in Cōḷa History*, pp. 52-53.

tions founded on it ; the story is itself the result of much theorising, which ignores the nature of early Pallava charters and their numerous affiliations with north Indian culture. We must note, however, that epigraphy supports the special connection between the Toṇḍai plant (the thorny caper) and the Pallavas; Mahēndravarman is called the king with the beautiful toṇḍai garland in the Daḷavanūr cave inscription.[48] We must hold, therefore, that even if the Pallavas were of northern extraction they adopted the manners of the Tamil country, such as the use of a family tree or plant. The Cōḷas had the *ār,* and the Pāṇḍyas the *vēmbu,* as their respective family emblems.

There is also no demonstrable connection between the Pallavas and the Kurumbar; the latter continued as a separate tribe, subject to the rule of the Pallavas and later of the Cōḷas and in the reign of Aparājita, we come across a chieftain who bears the surname 'sun of the Kurumbas'—Kurumbarādittan.[49] The designation of Kāḍavar or Kaḍuveṭṭi, often applied to them, tells us more of their work in the Tamil land, the spread of civilisation in forest tracts, than of their origin.*

Recently, K. P. Jayaswal has ventured upon the theory that the Pallavas were good Brahmin aristocrats from the North, military by profession, and connected with the Vākāṭakas by ties of blood. According to him the Pallavas were a branch of the Imperial Vākāṭakas. While we are prepared to admit the Northern affinities of the Pallavas, it is difficult to see the correctness of the conclusion that the Pallavas were Brahmins and that they were a branch of the Vākāṭakas.[50]

Judged by a study of the early charters of the Pallavas, they were only Kṣatriyas and their connection with the Brahman Aśvatthāman and Drōṇacārya is purely legendary. That they were

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[48] Ep. Ind. Vol. XII, p. 225:
(1) Śrī (||*) Toṇḍaiy-an-dār
(2) vēndaṉ. NARĒNDIRA-
(3) PPŌTTARAIYAN VE
(4) ṇbeṭṭiṉ-ṟeṉb (ā)-
(5) 1 miga magiḻndu ka-
(6) ṇḍāṉ śara-mikka-ve
(7) ñ-jilaiyāṉ Śa-
(8) tturumallēśva-
(9) rālaiyam-eṉṟ-Ara-
(10) ṇukk-iḍam-āgav-āngu (||*)

[49] 31 and 32 of 1912; In the inscription there is nothing to indicate that Kurumbarādittan was a member of the Pallava family; on the other hand, he is definitely described as a subordinate to the ruling Pallava.

* Note C. on 'Kāḍuveṭṭi'—see end of this chapter.

[50] J.B.O.R.S. 1933—p. 180 et seq.

Kṣatriyas is supported by a direct statement in the Tāḷaguṇḍa inscription[51] where Mayūraśarman laments the influence of the 'Pallava Kṣatriya' over the educational centre—Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī. The points of relationship which Jayaswal has cited as connecting the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas are not substantial. Therefore, at the moment we can only state that the Pallavas were a family of rulers, Kṣatriyas by caste, originally rulers of a good part of the Deccan, and that they had connections not only with one dynasty like the Vākāṭakas but with several royal dynasties of the Deccan.

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[51] Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 32, line 4.

NOTE A.—On the age of Ukkal and its Viṣṇu Temple.

The village of Ukkal[52] is situated one mile to the east of Kūḷampandal[53] which is another village about six miles to the south of Māmaṇḍūr near Conjeevaram (Kāñcī). Dr. Hultzsch who visited the place in 1893 describes the ancient Viṣṇu temple there thus:—"Of the shrine itself, only the lower portions remain standing and the maṇḍapa in front of the shrine threatens to collapse at any moment. The bases of the shrine and of the maṇḍapa bear 17 inscriptions. Of these, 14 were copied and published.[54] The remaining three were omitted as they are incomplete."

Of the 14 inscriptions copied, two, the earliest in the list, belong to the reign of the late Pallava king Kampavarman. The first one[55] inscribed on the south wall of the shrine is dated the tenth year of Kampavarman's reign and records that one Śaḍaiyan entrusted four hundred kāḍi of paddy with the Sabhā at Ukkal who pledged themselves to feed two Brahmins daily with the interest which amounted to 100 kāḍi per annum. Another inscription[56] found on the same wall is dated the fifteenth year of Kampavarman's rule and states that the Sabhā of Ukkal received 1000 kāḍi of paddy from the same Śaḍaiyan and agreed to collect 500 kāḍi yearly as interest on the 1000 kāḍi and hand it over to the annual committee (Samvatsara Vāriya Perumakkaḷ).

Excepting the above two inscriptions, the remaining twelve belong to the Cōḷa period. The existence of Kampavarman's inscriptions on the wall of the Viṣṇu temple enables us to infer that the village and the shrine are older than the time of the earliest Cōḷa king mentioned in the inscriptions from the same temple. However, Kampavarman's inscriptions do not tell us who the builder of the temple was. On the other hand it is the Cōḷa epigraphy of the place that throws light on the antiquity of both the village and the temple. An inscription[57] dated the twenty-third year of the Cōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman speaks of the other ancient names of the village of Ukkal......"Śivacūḍāmaṇimangalam" and "Aparājitacaturvēdimangalam," which are undoubtedly Pallava names. We know that Rājasimha bore the surname 'Śivacūḍāmaṇi'[58] and that Aparājita was the last Pallava king. The village must have received its name Śivacūḍāmaṇimangalam after Rājasimha in his time and then Aparājitacaturvēdimangalam after Aparājita in the latter's regime. The name Śivacūḍāmaṇimangalam takes the age of the village as far back as the 7th century A.D. Another name of the village referred to in the Cōḷa inscriptions is Śrī Vikramābharaṇacaturvēdimangalam.

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[52] Madras Survey Map of the Arcot Taluq.

[53] Ibid.

[54] S. I. I., Vol. III, part I, pp. 1 et seq.

[55] S. I. I., Vol. III, part I, p. 13.

[56] S. I. I., Vol. III, part I, p. 9.

[57] S. I. I., Vol. III, part I, p. 2.

Regarding the origin of the temple, the Cōḷa epigraphy tells us that its ancient name was Bhuvanimāṇikka Viṣṇugṛham. Dr. Hultzsch has admitted that Bhuvanimāṇikka "the ruby of the world" might have been a biruda of the unknown founder of the temple. We have observed that the Pallava king Nṛpatungavarman had a queen by name Prithivīmāṇikkam,[59] and that a measure was also known after the same queen.[60] So far as the meaning of the two names 'Bhuvanimāṇikkam' and 'Prithivīmāṇikkam' goes, there is absolutely no difference. Hence we may suggest that it is not unlikely that this queen was the builder of the Viṣṇu temple at Ukkal. This tentative inference may be well substantiated if any of the fragmentary inscriptions on its walls could be assigned to the time of Nṛpatunga.

NOTE B.—The Gift of the Mayidavōlu Copper Plates of Śivaskandavarman.

The object of this grant which is the earliest known Pallava copper plate record in Prākṛt, was the gift of the village called Viripara in Andhrāpatha to two Brahmans whose names are mentioned in the record. Dr. Hultzsch has correctly identified Andhrāpatha with the Telugu country; but about Viripara he remarks:[61] "Viripara, which I am unable to identify, must have been situated near Amarāvati in the Krishna District; for Śivaskandavarman addressed his order regarding the grant to his (or his father's) representative at Dhaññakaḍa, the modern Amarāvati."

While reading through Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,[62] I found that Number 1224 which contains a summary of an inscription from Amarāvati, mentions an individual belonging to a place called Vīrapura. I give below Lüders' summary:

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[58] See Nos. 24 & 31 in S. I. I. Vol. I, where this surname of Rājasimha occurs.

[59] Sewell's List of Ant. Vol. II, p. 30.

[60] 460 & 461 of 1905.

[61] Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 85.

[62] Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 143.

> "Prakṛt. Made by ...... the son of Dhamadēva (Dharmadēva), the Virapuraka (the inhabitant of Virapura); the gift of . . . . female pupil (Atēvāsinī) of Budharakhita (Buddharakshita)."

This inscription, according to Kielhorn, is found on a sculpture work now placed in the British Museum.

I think that the Viripara of the Pallava grant must be the same as Vīrapura of the Amarāvati sculpture inscription. The reason is, that the Vīripara of the Mayidavōlu plates must be somewhere near Dhaññakaḍa, because it is the officer there that receives the command from the Yuvamahārāja to carry out the details regarding the gift. Secondly, the sculptor from Vīrapura mentioned in the Amarāvati inscription very probably belonged to a place not far removed from Amarāvati.

This identification of Vīrapura with Vīripara naturally leads to the conclusion that the village existed even before the days of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman as judged by the age of the Amarāvati inscriptions and sculptures.

During my short stay at Dharaṇikōṭa on 16th April 1933, I met the village headman and casually asked him if he knew of any village by name Vīrapura in the neighbourhood. To my surprise, he unhesitatingly pointed out to me a plot of land on the southern side of Dharaṇikōṭa and assured me that there stood the ancient village of Vīrapura.[63] I noted the plot from a distance and could see that it contained a mound of about 10 to 12 ft. high, almost in the centre. On the western side of it there is a big margosa tree and near by there are two temporary huts. If the headman's information is correct, I may state that the old village of Vīrapura was situated on the southern side of Dharaṇikōṭa and about a mile north-west of the famous Amarāvati Stūpa. If other evidence could be found to support this presumption, and the mound on the spot could be removed and excavations conducted, perhaps the remains of the old Vīrapura might be traced.

If the location of Vīrapura is correct, then we may infer that the Yuvamahārāja who was a Hindu, appropriated the Buddhist lands near Amarāvati and gave them away to his Hindu subjects, a policy not uncommon at that time.

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[63] His knowledge is based on the local tradition that there was a village by the same name.

NOTE C.—*Kāḍuveṭṭi.*

The name ‘kāḍava’ in relation to the Pallavas is interesting. ‘Kāḍavarkōn’ in reference to the Pallava king, is found in Sundaramūrtti’s padigams[64] and also in the late work Periyapurāṇam.[65] The Gaṅgā grants in general speak of the Pallava king as ‘Kāḍuveṭṭi’.[66] The feudatories of the later Pallava kings assumed the title “Kāḍuveṭṭippērarayan” and ‘Kāḍuveṭṭi Tamil̲appēraraiyan’.[67] In the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, we have the statement that Hiraṇyavarman, the father of Pallava Malla, belonged to the family of the Kāḍava kings —“Kāḍavēśakula Hiraṇyavarma Mahārāja”.[67-a]

In the same inscription the young Pallava Malla, son of Hiraṇyavarman, is praised as one “who was born to enhance the glory of the Kāḍava family”—Kāḍaka (va) kulam śir̲akkattōn̲riya satyān (vi) ta suputran.[68] Again, in an inscription of Nṛpatunga’s his queen is called Kāḍava Mādēviyār.[69]

It is probable that ‘Kāḍavar’ or ‘Kāḍuveṭṭi’ was the name bestowed on the Pallava rulers, originally by the people of the Tamil land. The early Pallava kings of the Simhaviṣṇu line, namely, Mahēndravarman, Narasimhavarman I and Rājasimha, assumed innumerable birudas and inscribed them on the monuments which they built. But neither ‘Kāḍuveṭṭi,’ ‘Kāḍavan,’ ‘Kāḍavarkōn’ nor their Sanskrit equivalents occur among these birudas. It is only in the later Tamil inscriptions of the Pallavas that the name ‘ Kāḍuveṭṭi ’ is applied to them.

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[64] Tiruttoṇḍattogai-“Kāḍavarkōn Kal̲alśingan.”

[65] Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār Purāṇam; Pūśalar Nāyanār Purāṇam.

[66] The Ganga king Śrī Puruṣa is said to have slain the valiant Kāḍuveṭṭi of Kāñcī, captured the Pallava State umbrella and taken away from him the title Perumānaḍi, which title was ever afterwards assumed by Ganga kings.

[67] Satyavēḍu Inscriptions of Aparājita—31 & 32. of 1912.
The Ājñapti in an inscription of Nandivarman of Teḷḷāru is one Kādupaṭṭi Tamil̲appēraraiyan. (‘Ulagaḷandaperumāḷ inscription’ of Nandi published by Venkayya in the Madras Christian College Magazine, Vol. VIII). This feudatory and the Ājñapti of the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatunga who is again called ‘Viḍēl viḍugu kāḍupaṭṭi Tamil̲appēraraiyan’ (Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII p. 11), may be one and the same individual, for Nṛpatunga was the immediate successor of Nandi.

[67-a] 37 of 1888-S.I.I., Vol. IV, Text 1. A-2.

[68] S. I. I., vol. IV, Text, line D (1).

[69] 460 of 1905.

Further, the Tamil feudatories called themselves ‘ Kāḍuveṭṭi Tamilappēraraiyar ’—‘ the Tamil Chiefs under the Kāḍuveṭṭi.’ Literary references to the Pallava Kings by the name Kāḍuveṭṭi are also of a comparatively later date. We are, therefore, justified in inferring that ‘ Kāḍavar ’ or its modified forms of epithet were not assumed by the Pallavas among their titles of greatness, but were bestowed on them by the Tamil feudatories and their Tamil subjects.

The fact that the Pallavas were rulers over forest territories is sufficiently established by the direct evidence which we have in the Tāḷaguṇḍa inscription of Kākusthavarman. We are told that Mayūraśarman defeated the *frontier-guards* of the *Pallavas* and occupied the inaccessible *forests* stretching to the gates of *Śrī-parvata.*[70]

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[70] See also K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekkan*, pp. 15-16 ; Ep. Car. X. Intr. p. xx; and Mys. Gaz. II ii 561-2.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTHERN ELEMENT IN PALLAVA RULE.

We have seen how insecure the foundation is for a theory of local origin of the Pallavas. Let us look more closely into the evidence bearing on their foreign affiliations.

The mention of Parthivas in a Brāhmī inscription, of which a fragment is available on a sandstone column in the Pahlādpur village[1] in the United Provinces, is of some significance in this connection. In editing the inscription, Fleet[2] has made two observations : namely, that it is an early record as judged by its characters, and that it is possibly a record of the Pallavas in Northern India. Though the content of the record is not of much value to us,—for it only commemorates the fame of an otherwise unknown king,—the two points observed by Fleet are of interest to us.

Regarding the date of the inscription we may easily assign it to the first centuries of the Christian Era on the basis of its palaeography and the view that it belongs to the Pallavas depends upon the interpretation of " Pārthivānīkapālaḥ."

Fleet comments on this as follows :—

> " This might be rendered by simply ' The protector of the armies of kings.' But ' Pārthiva ' has so much the appearance of standing as a proper name here,[3] that I think the correct translation is ' The protector of the army of the Pārthivas.' And, if Dr. Oldhausen's derivation of the name Pallava, through the form Pahlava from Parthiva, i.e., Parthian, can be upheld, there will be no objection to considering that we have in this record a fuller and more complete Sanskritised form of the early name of this tribe."[4]

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[1] "Pahlādpur is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles East by South of Dḥānāpur, the chief town of the Mahāīch Parganā in the Zamāniya Tāhsīl or sub-division of Ghāzipur District in the North-West Provinces." Fleet.

[2] *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 57—p. 249.

[3] Fleet adds the following foot-note here:—"As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kauśika, descended through Viśvāmitra from Kuśika who was brought up among the Pahlavas " (See Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 351 ff.)

[4] Gupta Ins., p. 258.

Though it is true that Pahlava is the name of a tribe and 'Pallava' that of a ruling family of kings, there is still no reason why a tribal name should not have turned itself into that of a dynasty in a foreign land—South India. Once this is admitted, then the Pahlādpur inscription stands as a connecting link between the Parthians or Pahlavas of the North and the Pallavas of the South. The king whose fame is recorded in the inscription and who is called "the protector of the army of the Parthivas" may be considered as a distant ancestor of the kings of the 'Pallava' family of the South. This suggestion gains strength from the fact that Śiśupāla of this inscription is described as the fifth Lokapāla—"Pañcamo Lokapālaḥ"—an epithet constantly applied to the Pallava kings in their Sanskrit charters,[5] thus establishing the connection between 'the protector of the Pārthiva forces' of the Pahlādpur inscription and the Pallava kings of South India.

Yet another link between the Pahlavas of the North and the 'Pallavas' may be found in a legend which, according to Victor Goloubew takes it's origin from Scythians and plays a prominent part in the lands penetrated by the Pallavas and their culture.[6]

The connection among the Scythians, Śakas and the Pahlavas, who are mentioned together as foreign tribes, is a well-established fact. The Nāgī legend of the Scythians which Goloubew has finely connected with other legends in Tamil literature in the Pallava Copper-plates and in the Cambodian annals, deserves attention here.[7]

Having cited Herodotus as the first authority who speaks of the marriage of a prince with a Nāgī, Goloubew speaks of the spread of the legend in the South of India and in the far Eastern kingdom of Kambhoja.

The several Tamil works mentioned by Goloubew wherein the legend of the Nāgī is related may be arranged chronologically as follows :—

(a) The Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai,

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[5] "Lokapālānām pañcamaḥ"—Mangadur, Pikira and Uruvappalli grants; Indian Ant. Vol. V; Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 161; Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 60.

[6] I have appended a translation of Goloubew's article (in French) on the subject. Note—D.

[7] In this connection, it is interesting to read of the connections of the Nāgas with the Pallavas contained in Mallṣena's Nāgakumāracaritra. A summary of this work is given in Mysore Arch. Report 1924.

(b) The Maṇimēkalai.
(c) The Kalingattupparaṇi.
& (d) The Vikramaśōḻan Ulā.

The Perumbāṇ is one of the poems in a Śangam anthology, the Pattuppāṭṭu, and most probably dates from a time anterior to the commencement of Pallava rule in South India; and if that poem contained the Nāgī legend in any form, the case for the foreign origin of the legend and for its migration with the Pallavas would lose all its force. But, in fact, it is not the poem, but its annotator Naccinārkkiniyar, a writer of the 14th century A.D. or thereabouts, that gives the story of the liaison between a Cōḷa prince of Nāgapaṭṭinam and a Nāgī, and the birth of the Tiraiyan. The text of the poem merely says that the waves of the sea yielded the Tiraiyar. The Maṇimēkalai might have been composed after the Pallavas came in, though it does not mention them; but even here, we find the liaison between a Cōḷa Prince and Pīlivaḷai mentioned, but with no reference whatever to the Pallavas; in fact, the child of this union is lost in a shipwreck and we hear no more of him. And the two later poems repeat this incident briefly. It is possible, though this can hardly be proved in the present state of our knowledge, that an imported legend which came in first with the Pallavas, was adopted by the Cōḷa line with some modification. The earliest direct reference to the Nāgī in Pallava records, therefore, is that of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, several centuries later than the beginning of Pallava rule in the South.[8]

The possible connection with the Pahlavas then, and the vague indications arising from the spread of the Nāgī legend, form the only bits of evidence in support of the foreign origin of the Pallavas. That the Amarāvati inscription ignores this legend and adumbrates a new story in which an epic hero and a litter of sprouts (Pallava) play the most prominent part is only in keeping with the increasing tendency to find good pedigrees for all royal lines and to derive them from the Sun, Moon, Brahmā or some great hero. The litter of sprouts is no doubt a conspicuous instance of euhemerism. But this form of the story had gained currency before the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ sculptures came into existence in the reign of Nandivarman II, and is portrayed in those sculptures.

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[8] S. I. I. Vol. II part 5 p. 508 verse 5.

Now, having indicated the points which connect the 'Pallavas' with the 'Pahlavas' of the North, let us observe the evidences which connect the ruling family of the Pallavas with the Deccan. That the Pallavas were originally rulers of the Deccan before they ruled in the south and that they extended their sway over the Tamil land by a gradual process of conquest are indicated by more than one factor:—Firstly, by their wars with their contemporary powers; secondly, by the provenance of their early copper-plates and thirdly, by the extent of their kingdom judged by the evidences contained in their copper plates and stone inscriptions.

The connections of the Pallava royal family with the Deccan are further proved by the matrimonial alliances of the kings and by the features of their early government and social institutions.

The Wars of the Pallavas with their Contemporaries.

The most formidable adversaries of the Pallavas in the Deccan were the Cāḷukyas. In a record of the Cāḷukyas the Pallavas are described as their 'natural enemies' (Prakṛtyamitra) indicating thereby that the enmity between these two royal families was a long-standing one.

The original cause of the strife seems to have been "The conquest of the South"—a coveted object of both, and when the Pallavas succeeded in establishing their sway in the south and tried to retain their kingdom in the Deccan and extend their conquest in the south, they naturally invoked the jealousy of the Cāḷukyas. This conflict between these two powerful foes resulted in invasions and counter-invasions into the kingdoms of both.[9]

Besides the Cāḷukyas, the other contemporary powers of the Deccan with whom the Pallavas came into conflict were the Kadambas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas. The quarrel between the Kadambas and the Pallavas began with Mayūraśarman's dramatic departure from Kāñcī and seems to have continued till about the 8th century.[10] The Pallava-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations from the time of Nandivarman Pallava Malla to the end of Nṛpatunga's reign was one of mixed war and peace. There was more than one Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion into the Pallava kingdom.[11] The animosity between the Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Pallavas began probably with Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana's conquest of Vēngī from the Pallavas.

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[9] A detailed account of these wars may be found in *The Pallavas of Kāñci*—Gopalan; *Studies in Pallava History*—H. Heras, part II.

[10] Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII—The Tālagunḍa inscription.

Up to the time of Nandivarman III of Teḷḷāṟu the ambition of the Pallava rulers to hold sway over the Deccan persisted and we have indications in Pallava epigraphy and definite statements in Tamil literature that the Pallava kings tried to invade the northern regions as far as the old Cāḷukyan capital Vātāpi.[12]

The Provenance of the Copper Plates.

The early copper-plates of the Pallavas are written in the Prākṛt dialects and also a few of them in the Sanskrit language. Almost all of them come from the districts north of the Tamil land. The Mayidavōlu plates come from the Guṇṭūr District, the Hīrahadagaḷḷi plates from the Bellary District, the British Museum plates of Queen Cārudēvī, the Pikira grant, the Uruvapalli plates and the Ōmgōḍu grants again come from the Guṇṭūr district. All of them refer to places to the north of the Tamil Land.

The Extent of the Pallava Kingdom.

As indicated by these various records of the Pallavas, the regions over which these kings ruled, before they established their rule over large tracts of the Tamil land in the South which was ruled over by the Cōḷas, consisted of the southern half of the Telugu districts ruled over by the Āndhras and also included a part of the Bellary District. Thus it is clear that the Pallava rulers pushed themselves into the south from the regions of the Deccan.

Matrimonial Alliances of the Royal Family.

Tradition asserts that the first king of the Cāḷukyas married a Pallava princess.[13] In this connection, we have to refer to the suggestions of Dubreuil, which are by no means conclusive but are valuable. In his 'Pallavas' he suggested the possibility of marriage connections having existed between the Āndhras and the Pallavas. He writes:—'In fact, it is quite possible that the Pallava king had married the daughter of 'Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi' and that the 'Yuvamahārāja' of the Pallava dynasty received according to the custom of the Hindus, the name of the Āndhra king who was his grandfather.' Secondly, basing his argument on the resemblance of the names of Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Vikramēndra and Mahēndravikrama, he postulated the marriage between the daughter of Vikramēndra I and Simhaviṣṇu whose son was also named after his maternal grandfather.[14]

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[11] Govinda III is said to have invaded the Pallava kingdom twice.

[12] These refer to the verses in the Periyapurāṇam and in the contemporary work Nandikkalambakam which I shall have the occasion to discuss later.

[13] This is also recorded in a late Cāḷukyan grant of the 11th century A.D.—Rāṇastapūṇḍi plates.

There is every reason to believe that the Śālankayanas and the Pallavas were related to each other through marriages as a study of the charters belonging to the former dynasty will reveal.[15] Apart from such suggestions, definite statements of marriages of the Pallava kings with the princesses of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kadambas are found in later Pallava copper-plates. This and the very names of queens, Cārudēvī, Rangapatākā, Rēvā, Aggaḷanimmati and Śankhā, which are not indigenous names, lead us to conclude that the social relations of the Pallava royal family were chiefly with the dynasties of the Deccan.

The earliest of the Pallava kings who is said to have given in marriage a princess to a prince of the Tamil land is Rājasimha. Dubreuil suggests that the Pāṇḍyan king Kōccaḍaiyan married the daughter of the Pallava king Rājasimha. This again, though based only on similarity of names, is not improbable.[16]

The general features of early administration of the Pallavas and the social institutions again show the influence of the Deccan. This will be observed as we study the subject in detail in the chapters that follow.

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[14] *Pallavas*—p. 35.

[15] Gopalan *Pallavas of Kāñcī*, p. 73 ff.

[16] Durbreuil. *Pallavas* p. 68.

NOTE D :—" The Legends of the Nāgī and the Apsaras." By 'VICTOR GOLOUBEW.'

(*Translated from Bulletin De l'Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient.* Vol. 24, 1924—p. 501 ff.)

Among the popular traditions of Cambodge, one of the best known is that which traces the origins of the first royal dynasty to the marriage of an Indian Prince with a Nāgī.

According to the Cambodian Annals, one of the Kings of Indraprastha (Delhi), Prah Thon, is said to have become, at an already remote epoch, sovereign of the Khmer country which was then called Kok Thlok. One evening he was caught by the tide on a sand bank and was obliged to pass the night there. A young Nāgī rose from the waves and came to meet him. Overcome by her marvellous beauty, the king united himself with her and it was thus that a powerful dynasty was founded which governed the country for a long time.

According to M. Aymonier, the legendary couple still presides in our days in certain Cambodian villages at the essential rite of lawful marriage. " While the parents of the young married pair pass round little metal discs in which burns the sacred fire of candles, the music invariably plays the antique national tune of the 'Divine Thong' and the 'Lady Nāgī,' that tune whose melancholy notes are listened to religiously, and rouse a tender feeling and emotion which often betrays itself by tears."[17]

In an article which appeared in 1911, M.L. Finot has grouped together a certain number of epigraphic and literary data referring to this legend.[18] From these collections it is evident that the tale of the Nāgī was very ancient in Indo-China and it already appeared in the Chinese Texts of the sixth century relating to Funan. It is found again with the Thai whose national hero, Phya Ruang, was the son of the Princess of the race of Nāgās.

Hardly had M. Finot's notice been printed when M. G. Coedès called attention to the existence in South India of two inscriptions dating from the Pallavas and to several Tamil poems where the memory of a legend analogous to that of the Hindu Prince and the Serpent Princess[19] is incontestably reflected.

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[17] *Historie de l'ancien Cambodge* p. 11

[18] Sur quelques traditions indochinoises Bull. Com. Archaeol. of Indo-China, 1911—p. 32.

The two epigraphical texts belong to the Eleventh Century.[20] The first of these documents, a charter of Skanda Śiṣya, assigns a Nāgī as wife of the King Aśvatthāmā, the son of Drōṇa, whom the Pallavas venerated as one of their ancestors. As to the second, a charter of Nandivaraman III, there is mentioned among the Pallava Kings a legendary Vīrakūrca who married a Princess of Ophidian Stock and obtained from her "the insignia of royalty."

The literary sources quoted by M. Coedès are:—Maṇimēkalai, of which we possess a French translation by M. Vinson, the Vikkrama-Cōḷan Ulā, Kalingattuppuraṇi and the Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai.

The first of these poems recounts the fabulous birth of a Pallava of Kāñcī, the son of a Nāgī Pīlivaḷai and a king of the dynasty of the Cōḷas. The three others speak of a Cōḷa sovereign who penetrated into the world of Nāgas by a cavern and became the son-in-law of a Serpent King by marrying a Nāgī. Just as in Maṇimēgalai, the infant born of this king is a Pallava Prince. The four Tamil versions, although associated with the genealogical history of the Cōḷas, are thus closely bound up with the mythical origin of the Pallavas as the author of the article observes. As to the parallelism between the Hindu and Khmer editions of the legend, it seems to us beyond doubt.

"In the same way," says M. Coedès, "as in Cambodia the Nāgī Sōmā is really the foundress of a new race and gives it, in her quality of Vamśakarī, her name of Sōma Vamśa; so also does the Indian Nāgī, according to the charter of Nandivarman III, give the insignia of royalty to Vīrakūrca and according to the Tamil Texts founds a new dynasty, that of Toṇḍaimān or Pallavas." To these points of resemblance yet another is added. According to the charter of Skanda-Śiṣya, the Nāgī marries Aśvatthāmā, son of Drōṇa. Now, this same personage, one of the Heroes of Mahābhārata, is also mentioned in an inscription of Mi-son which alludes to the history of the conquering Indian and the Serpent Queen.[21] In stating these numerous analogies, we can only agree with the opinion of M. Coedès who concludes his study in these terms:

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[19] Etudes cambodgiennes—The Legend of the Nāgī—B E F E O 1911 pp. 391-93.

[20] I think that this date is wrong for the inscription of Nandivarman III, and very doubtful for the other, probably a copy—C.M.

"In whatever way we look at it, the Cambodian legend brings us back to the Court of the Pallavas. The fact is all the more worthy of attention because this legend is associated in Indo-China with the name of Kauṇḍinya who is frequently called the founder of Cambodia."

It would be perhaps interesting for the knowledge of Khmer history to continue the researches so happily begun by M. Finot and Coedès and to see if it is possible to study at closer quarters the principal elements of this myth and to fix its origin either in India itself or elsewhere.[22]

Hindu folklore is rich in tales where the Nāgas take an important place. Most of these traditions referring to local cults may have been born in a spontaneous fashion on the same sites which formed their historic background. There are few streams and ponds in India which do not evoke the memory of some spirit of Ophidian race, a being, now inauspicious and now propitious, and whom the villagers venerate as a "genius loci". These beliefs testify to the mystical terror, a terror mingled with adoration and respect which the redoubtable hooded cobra inspires in the rural populace of the Indian Peninsula. However attractive their study may be for mythology, it does not enter into the programme of our researches. It is not the same, however, with regard to a group of legends which attributes a fabulous lineage to some historical kings of India. As a type of this kind of tradition, one might cite a genealogy of an illustrious Kashmirian dynasty whose first ancestor is said to have been the Nāga Kārkōṭa.[23]

It is possible that the Nāga Princes who reigned in the Deccan and Central India at the time of the Guptas considered themselves the descendants of Ophiomorphic spirits. Again, to this very day, most of the Gonds' chiefs ascribe analogous origin to themselves and there exist even to the present day traces of the Nāga Vamśa in the punjab.[24]

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[21] B E F E O., IV, 1904-p. 919.

[22] M. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil has sought to explain the myth by a historical fact, the marriage of a Pallava prince with the daughter of the Mahārathi chief Śiva-Skanda-Nāga—Compare *Ancient History of the Deccan* (1920) p. 55 ff. We do not think that the arguments adduced by this author are decisive. The fact that the spouse of the Nāgī is called Aśvatthāman or Vīrakūrca, Kōkkiḷḷi or even Pīlivaḷai in different accounts indicates clearly, in our opinion, that we have to do with a legendary tradition.

[23] J. Ph. Vogel, Serpent-worship in Ancient and Modern India. Extr. Vol. II, Acta Orientalia, Leide, p. 300 ff. The descendant of Nāga Kārkōṭa, the king Lalitāditya, the builder of the celebrated temple of Mārtāṇḍā.

One might ask oneself; "Is there not ground for recognising in these fantastic genealogies the memory of a very ancient totemic organisation whose origins in certain cases are not necessarily Indian ?" "What is certain is the fact that there existed formerly in Persia, in Asia Minor and in Southern Russia no less than in the Himalayan regions and to the north of the latter, reigning families descended from the serpents. All these myths show incontestable analogies to the Pallava legends and those of Cambodia; but with one single exception, the resemblance is not accentuated to such a degree that one could establish a close connection between the different traditions. A legend to which we shall presently allude offers, on the other hand, so many parallels with the Khmer and Tamil versions that in our opinion it forces us to seek a connection. It is told by Herodotus in the Fourth Book of his history which refers to the origin of the Scythians. Here is the Text:[25]

> "It was from the Isle of Erythie that Heracles set out to reach the country nowadays called Scythia. The Greeks add that, overtaken on his way by winter and by ice, he fell asleep wrapped in his lion's skin and that during his slumber the mares of his chariot which he had allowed to graze freely disappeared by a Divine permission.
>
> "On awakening Heracles began to search for them and going through all the country, at last reached Hylée where, in a cavern, he met a woman named Echidna, a kind of monster who half belonged to the human species. The upper part of her body above the waist was that of a woman and the lower part that of a serpent. Heracles, after his first moments of surprise, asked her if she had not seen his strayed mares. Echidna replied that she had them in her power but would only give them back to him if he dwelt with her. Heracles consented; however, she deferred as long as possible giving the mares to him, so that she may enjoy his company the longer. At last, Heracles being absolutely deter-

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[24] A. Barth. *The Religions of India.*

[25] *Les Antiquites de la Russie meridionale* 1892—p. 161.

mined on leaving, she gave him back the mares and said to him. "It is I who kept your mares which chance had led hither. You have paid me the price of this service. I shall give birth to three children of whom you are the father. Tell me now what I ought to do with them. When they have grown big, ought I to settle them in this country in which I live and of which I am the sovereign, or would you like me to send them to you?" Heracles replied, "When these children shall have attained the age of manhood, you must do, if you wish to believe me, what I am going to tell you. Give them this bow; that one among them who is able to bend it as I do now and to gird himself with this baldric as I do, make him master of the territory which you possess and let him dwell there. Those who cannot carry out these two things as I ordain, make them leave the country; so acting, you will obey me and you will only have to commend yourself."

Herodotus then recounts how Echidna proceeded to carry out the test of the bow when her children had reached the age of manhood, and how the victor Scythe, became master of the territory which his mother ruled and the eponymous ancestor of the nation.

It is easy to grasp the elements which allow us to establish close connections between the Scythio-Hellenic tradition on the one hand and the legends of South India and Cambodia on the other. In Herodotus's account there are: (1) the union of a mythical hero with a woman serpent; (2) the transmission of the kingdom from the mother to the son, by matriarchy and immediately afterwards of the establishment of a dynasty where power transmits itself from king to king by male descent; (3) a huge bow whose manipulation, just as in the legend of Kauṇḍinya, testifies to the supernatural strength of the drawer of the bow and assures him powers of sovereignty.

Let us add that in three of the four Tamil versions as in Herodotus's account, the hero of the legend meets the Nāgī in a subterranean cave and not on the sand as is the case in the Cambodian version. It would almost seem in consequence that in the traditions of Southern India the subterranean character of the serpent fairy so precisely defined among the Scythians is more apparent than in the myths of Cambodia where the Nāgī is rather a water divinity.

On the other hand, in the Indian texts noticed by M. Coedès no mention whatsoever is found of the bow which plays such an important part as well in the History of Heracles and Echidna as in that of the Khmerian ancestral pair. Nevertheless, perhaps the gap is only apparent.

In fact, the charter of Nandivarman III tells us that the King Virakūrca, ancestor of the Pallavas, had obtained from his Nāga wife the insignia of royalty. What were those insignia? A Pallava text published by Hultzsch contains a passage which will perhaps aid us in elucidating the question. " To the end of his days the favourite ornament of this glorious king Nandivarman was the bow of victory which adorned his hand. "[26] Moreover, the allusions to the science of archery are very frequent among the Pallavas. Rājasimha prides himself on being a prodigious archer (" Citra Kārmuka ")—an incomparable archer.[27] And again, in the same text, a bow is mentioned which spreads panic among the enemies.[28] We could multiply the examples but those we have cited adequately prove in what honour the Pallavas held the redoubtable weapon of their ancient ancestor, Drōṇa.[29] The result of our exposition is that there exist indisputable analogies between the legends which we have been dealing with, analogies which are far from seeming accidental and which there is perhaps a ground for explaining by common origins.

The Black Sea and the Mediterranean are separated from South India by the sands of Ariana, the Himalayan chain and the plains of the Indus. One feels at first a certain hesitation in admitting ties of relationship between the traditions so far separated from one another from the geographical point of view. But this feeling is very quickly overcome by considerations of a historical character. One knows the variety of foreign races which have spread themselves over the surface of the Indian Peninsula and the considerable part which the Śakas and Scythians played in this immigration.

Might it be the result of one of these Scythian invasions or infiltrations that the legend of the serpent-queen penetrated into the folklore of the countries occupied by the Pallavas? One can divine the problem and the importance which its solution would have for the historiographers of Cambodia, but as long as light has not been cast on the origin of the Pallavas and of their immediate predecessors, there is little hope of arriving at definite results.[30]

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[26] Hultzsch—S.I.I. Vol. II, Pt. III No. 74, p. 371.

[27] Hultzsch—S.I.I. Vol. I, pp. 14, 21,

[28] *Ibid.*, page 19.

[29] H. Dufour, le Bayon d'Angor Thom. Gal. Intr. pl. 36, 39 & 117.

All that one can say, in the actual state of our knowledge, about this essentially war-like and conquering dynasty is that it does not seem to be of indigenous stock. If the linguistic likeness between Pallava and Pahlava = Pārthava (= Parthe), formerly suggested by Wilson is no longer in favour with contemporary savants, it is no less true that a certain number of points remains to be elucidated whose study may well strengthen the bonds between the Scythian world and one of the more powerful princely families of Southern India.[31]

For those who take up the researches sketched out in this article, it will be important to fix the ethnological source of the legend recounted by Herodotus. The account of this historian of the origin of the Scythians bears "the visible imprint of the imagination of the Greeks".[32] There is also another version of the myth which has been transmitted to us by Diodorus of Sicily in which Jupiter, the Papaeus of the Scythians, has been substituted for Heracles as the husband of Echidna.[33]

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30. M. Dubreuil has again taken up in *Ancient History of the Deccan,* the study of this question to which he devoted some instructive pages in his work on the Pallavas. But the Pallava mystery is still far from being cleared up.

31. Thus the well-known inscription of Girnar attests the presence of a minister belonging to the family of the Pallavas at the Court of the Satraps who reigned at Aparānta. One might also notice in this sequence of ideas the Iranian influences in the art of Amarāvati and that of Māvalipuram which the historians of Art and of Archaeology, with the exception of J. Fergusson, have hitherto neglected too much.

32. *Les Antiquités de la Russie meridionale*—p. 161.

33. *Ibid.*—p. 162—Perhaps, a parallel may be established between the Papaeus the name given by the Scythians to Zeus and the word "Bappa" of the Pallavas, which appears to be equally a term of veneration. A Bappa Dēva is said to have married according to Dubreuil, a princess of Nāga stock. The author takes this to be an instance of a historical personage. We should rather see here a king assimilated with a legendary ancestor, the latter being in a way the Pallava counterpart of Heracles and of Jupiter in so far as he is the husband of a serpent-queen. On the identity of Jupiter and Papaeus see *Les Antiquités,* and *Iranians and Greeks in Southern Russia*—Oxford 1924, p. 107.

Most happily the customs and religious ideas of Scythic-Sarmatians are sufficiently known for one to be able to recognise under the Hellenic disguise the original physiognomy of the tradition related by Herodotus. There is hardly any need to insist on the fact that the bow is the Scythian weapon *par excellence*. The Scythians were archers as clever as they were redoubtable and it was one of them, Teutarès, who is said to have taught Heracles how to use the Meotian Bow. On the reverse of certain Śaka coins one finds this weapon in the form of an emblem, sometimes associated with a disc or a vajra.

It is equally established that the Mātṛvamśa was still in force with the people of Meotia and of Asia Minor at a period relatively recent in ancient History.[34] Finally, the recent works of Rostovtzeff have shown the importance of the place held by the great Goddess with human face and serpent body in the religious practices of the Scythians.

The images of the latter are not rare. They present this peculiarity—that the tail of the reptile Goddess is divided into two or more parts, each terminating in a straight serpent's head. We have found a representation connected with this type, on a piece of sculpture at Mathurā and we gladly find in it a proof that the Śakas of India, although strongly Hinduised, had not completely forgotten their ancient tutelary deity.

In Greek mythology, Echidna, daughter of Tartare and of the Earth, habitually appears under the aspect of a terrifying being which lures men into its subterranean dwelling and gorges itself with their flesh. United to Typhon, God of the tempests, she gives birth to the Hydra of Lerane, to the Chimère, to the Sphinx, to the Nemean Lion and to yet other monsters. It is without doubt under the influence of Scythian beliefs that she wears in Herodotus's account, an almost human appearance and that she becomes after the fashion of the Indian and Khmerian Nāgīs, the venerated ancestress of a whole people. It seems probable that the name of this monster has replaced that of a Scythian Divinity.

Already in the 16th century, Rabelais had suspected connections between the legend of Echidna and that of Mélusine as it was told in 1387 by John of Arras. If this opinion is correct—and for the moment there is no reason to reject it—we may perhaps be led one day or other to prove the connections of the legendary parentage of the first royal couple of Cambodia and of an illustrious family of Poitou, the princes of Lusignan.[35]

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[34] For example the Gunércratouménes of Pomponius Méla (I.116).

A Sanskrit inscription of Amarāvati published by Hultzsch introduces into the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas, elements which do not at all accord with the legend of the Nāgī.

According to this text, Aśvatthāman, son of Drōṇa, married not a serpent-queen, but one of the Apsarases. Here again, is a summary of the myth: "By the favour of Śiva, there was born to Drōṇa a most splendid son named Aśvatthāman. He became a Ṛṣi or a hermit. One day the Apsaras Madanī surrounded by other celestial maidens, approached the hermitage where the son of Drōṇa was living in the strictest observance of ascetic rules. The saint noticed her at the edge of a lake, seated in the shade of an Asoka tree, and looking with languor at the amorous couples of swans which were sporting under the tangled leaves of the lotus. The virgin saw it too and immediately seized with a passion for him, she became his beloved—and the son born to them received the name 'Pallava'."

We leave, for the moment at least, the study at close quarters of this second family tradition of the Pallavas, which seems to us moreover of literary origin and of relatively recent formation. On the other hand, we must notice at once the connections which we think we have recognised between the history of Aśvatthāman and Madanī and an old Cambodian legend embodied in the inscription of Bàksēi Caṃkroṅ. (A.D. 947) .[36]

Verse XII of this text reads in fact thus: "I revere greatly Merā, the most glorious of Apsarases whom Hara (Śiva), guru of the three worlds, desirous of a perfect creation in the interest of his three eyes, gave for a wife to the great Ṛṣi Kambu". The affinities between the two traditions are evident. On both sides we have a Maharṣi who marries an Apsaras and whose descendants govern the country. Kambu Svāyambhuva, one knows, is the supposed ancestor of Khmer kings as Kauṇḍinya is of their ancient suzerains the kings of Funan.

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[35] See the article by Jules Baudot in *Mélusine.*—XI (1912) p. 162. We may recall on this subject that a branch of the Lusignan reigned in XIV century in Asia Minor (Little Armenia), that is to say, in the regions which one might almost call the fatherland of Echidna. It is possible that this circumstance exercises a certain influence on the work of John of Arras.

[36] Translated by Coedès and published in J.A., May-June: Page 497 et seq.

M. Finot has drawn attention to the fact that the history of Kambu and of the Apsaras Merā, apart from the unique document which mentions it with precision, has survived, in Cambodia only in ethnical or geographical names such Kambuja, Kambuvamśa, Kambudeśa, Kambupurī.[37] He supposes as a result that the Cambodian kings sacrificed their genealogical tradition to that of Funan or rather that they only preserved it as a title of household remembrance, while adopting as the root of their dynasty the foundress of the Somavamśa, that is to say, the Nāgī.

However it may be, the connection suggested by us does not in the least weaken this opinion. In attributing to the history of Kambu and of Merā an Indian origin and in tracing it to the genealogical myths of the Pallavas, we think indeed that we have furnished a new argument for the thesis of M. Finot, which tends to recognise a near blood-relationship between the two great reigning families of ancient Cambodia.

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[37] In B C A C 1911, p. 34.

PART II

ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION.

I. POLITICAL DIVISION.

For purposes of administration the Pallava kingdom was divided into different units. The early Pallava Copper-plates speak of the larger divisions of the political units as the 'Viṣaya' and the 'Rāṣṭra'. The Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates[1] mention the head of the Viṣaya and the officer of the Rāṣṭra, Rāṣṭrika. Since the Viṣaya is mentioned first and then the Rāṣṭrika it may be inferred that in these parts of the Pallava kingdom the Viṣaya was the larger unit and the Rāṣṭra the smaller unit. We have an example of this in the case of political divisions maintained under the Kalacuris and the early Cāḷukyas who preceded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in northern Mahārāṣṭra.[2]

The names of specific Rāṣṭras are mentioned in the Pallava grants. The Uruvappalli plates speak of Muṇḍa Rāṣṭra, the Pīkira grant also mentions Muṇḍa Rāṣṭra, the Māngadūr grant specifies Vengō Rāṣṭra and the Ōmgōḍu grants relate to Karmā Rāṣṭra. In all these the Rāṣṭra is mentioned first and immediately follows the mention of the Grāma to which the grant refers. There is no question that in the early charters of the Pallavas the Grāma indicates a political unit administered by officers placed under the control of the Central Government.

In the Tamil land over which the Pallavas ruled the names of political units are as follows:—Kōṭṭam, Nāḍu, and the Ūr or the village. We also come across names of Viṣayas and Rāṣṭras in the bi-linguistic charters of the Pallavas from the time of Paramēśvaravarman I. It is interesting to find that in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the political division into various Kōṭṭams which existed in the land prior to the Pallavas was maintained even after they came to rule the kingdom.

II CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

Hereditary Kingship.

At the head of the Central Government was the king. The Pallava kingship in its early days was in a sense hereditary, because only a legitimate male member of the family succeeded to the throne, but it is difficult to say until we come to the time of Simhaviṣṇu whether the descent can be traced from father to son and whether the rule of primo-geniture was maintained. It may again be repeated that this uncertainty is due to the fact that the early chronology of this dynasty is unsettled, and in a few cases we do not know definitely whether the son or the brother or the cousin succeeded to the throne after a particular king.[3]

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[1] Ep. Ind. Vol. I Page 5.

[2] Vadner Inscription of Buddharāja. Ep. Ind. XII p. 34 l. 18.

For example, it is difficult to say definitely who the Pallava kings were who ruled between Simhavarman II and Simhaviṣṇu. Again, the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, for some unknown reason, does not seem to have ruled the Pallava kingdom. Further, in the Kaśākuḍi plates it is stated that Bhīmavarman, brother of Simhaviṣṇu, occupied the Pallava throne for some time before Mahēndravarman I.

But when we come to Mahēndravarman and his successors, we are almost sure that the son always succeeded the father. It is only after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II that the succession passes to a collateral branch. On the whole we may say that in general the Pallava kingship was hereditary.

Election.

After the death of Paramēśvaravarman II, when the Pallava kingdom was subject to an anarchy, the subjects of the Pallava kingdom chose to elect a king. The details of this election are contained in the important constitutional document of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple.[4] This shows that under the Pallavas election of a king by the subjects under extraordinary conditions was not unknown. Here we have not only an instance where the important groups of the realm took part but also an example of the political responsibility of the people as a whole.

Divine Origin.

In early Pallava charters we do not find specific references to the divine origin of their king. However, we notice that from the time of Pallava Malla the idea of the divine origin of the Pallava family was elaborately related in the copper-plates. The descent of the Pallava line of rulers is traced from Brahmā.[5] But we know that the basis of this is purely legendary. Though the divine origin of the dynasty was maintained in its later charters in theory, we have no definite proofs to show that this modified the status of the king in practice.

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[3] Gopalan—op. cit.—pp. 50 et seq.

[4] S.I.I. Vol. IV. The details of this election represented by the sculptures are discussed in my forthcoming monograph—"The Historical sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ Temple."

Imperial Titles.

Dharmamahārājādhirāja, Mahārājādhirāja, Dharmamahārāja and Mahārāja were some of the Imperial titles borne by the Pallava Kings of the Prākṛt, Sanskrit and later charters up to the time of the successors of Pallava Malla.[6] Their imperial nature was also indicated by the way they were introduced in their early charters.

Śivaskandavarman of the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates is introduced as "Aggittōmavājapēyāssamēdhayājī"—the performer of agniṣṭōma, Vājapeya[7] and aśvamēdha sacrifices. In the Cendalūr plates the Pallavas in general are spoken of as having performed Aśvamēdha yāga.

Abhiṣēkanāma

The practice of conferring a new name on the king at the time of the coronation—Abhiṣēkanāma—seems to have been prevalent among the Pallava rulers. Rājasimha had the Abhiṣēkanāma Narasimhavarman (II), and we have a definite instance of this practice in the case of Paramēśvara *alias* Pallava Malla. When he was elected to the throne his subjects, officers and feudatories conferred on him the name Nandivarman:—"Nandivarmanenṟu abhiṣēkam śeydu".[8]

It is interesting to find that this practice of conferring an Abhiṣēkanāma was also prevalent in Campā. Praśastadharma, son of Rudravarman was given the name Śambhuvarman at the time of his coronation.[9] We have also other instances of this practice in Campā as in the case of Prakāśadharma who was conferred the title Śrīvikrāntavarman.[10]

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[5] Kaśākuḍi plates. This point is also clearly indicated by the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ sculptures.

[6] The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates Ep. Ind. Vol. I and for the Imperial Titles of Pallava Malla, see Kaśākuḍi plates. The successors of Pallava Malla were constantly referred to as Pottaraiyar in the stone inscriptions. Elaborate descriptions of the Pallava kings which we find in the early charters are missing in the later ones.

[7] It is believed that one becomes an emperor (Samrāṭ) by the performance of the Vājapeya sacrifice. The superiority of Vājapeya to the Rājasūya is attested by the law giver Kātyāyana (XV. I, 1-2). Vājapeya is regarded not as a political ceremony as the Rājasūya is. According to the Taittirīya Samhitā and Taittrīya Brāhmaṇa, the Vājapeya is the ceremony of the consecration of a king to the Imperial position.

[8] S.I.I. Vol. IV. Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ Inscription.

Birudas

Apart from these Imperial titles and Abhiṣēkanāmas, the Pallava kings assumed several birudas. The greatest of the kings Mahēndravarman I started the practice of inscribing these birudas on the monuments which he dedicated to his favourite gods. Examples of these are found in the Trichinopoly cave and also in the Pallāvaram cave temple.[11] These are written in bold and attractive characters of the period and adorn the monument on which they are inscribed.

The successors of Mahēndravarman I, Narasimhavarman I and Rājasimha followed this practice of inscribing the surnames on the sacred monuments. These birudas to a certain extent exaggerate the qualities of the kings, but they throw much welcome light on the personal tastes and qualities of the respective kings.[12]

Physical Charm of the Kings.

Besides the surnames and other descriptions which reveal the personal charm of the kings in general we have actual portrait statues of many Pallava kings from which we can study their physical build and their appearance. The portrait statues of Simhaviṣṇu and Mahēndravarman in the Varāha cave at Māmallapuram make us infer that the Pallava kings were tall, well-built and possessed all the dignified marks of royalty.[13]

Learning and Culture.

The Pallava kings were well learned and highly cultured. For example we have in Mahendravarman I an author of Sanskrit

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9. Sanskrit inscriptions of Champā No. 7-Majumdar, *Ancient History of Champā.*

10. Ibid No. 12.

11. A facsimile of the Trichinopoly birudas of Mahēndravarman is published by Dubreuil in his *Pallava Antiquities.*

12. In the Kailāsanātha temple we find everywhere inscribed the birudas of Rājasimha.

13. References may be made to the following publications containing photographs of portrait statues of Pallava kings. Aravamudan—*Portrait statues,* Gopalan. *Pallavas of Kāñcī.* Father Heras on this subject in *Acta Orientalia* 1934. (Also Plate II, fig. 3 at end.)

plays, a great musician and an all round royal artist. Rājasimha and Pallava Malla again are described as kings well-versed in all the Śāstras and philosophical works.[14]

Religious Qualities.

Almost every one of the Pallava kings was of a religious temperament. They were usually tolerant towards their subjects and stood as defenders and protectors of the different faiths that prevailed in the kingdom.[15] They not only installed Gods in beautiful temples but elaborately endowed them for the purposes of regular worship. If we find that any Pallava king was personally responsible for religious persecution it was only exceptional.

The emblem of the Pallavas and its significance.

As the Fish was to the Pāṇḍyas ; the Tiger to the Cōḷas ; the Bow to the Ceras; and the Boar to the Cāḷukyas; so the Bull was to the Pallavas, an emblem, symbolising first the religion of the State and secondly the patience and assiduity necessary for the achievement of greatness. The recumbent Bull, generally facing the proper right, sometimes the left, flanked on either side by two tall lamps—the symbols of light and truth, adorned the seals of the Pallavas—along with other significant devices, among which was the figure of Lakṣmī, the Goddess of prosperity. With the exception of a few copper plate grants, the rest have the bull on their seals. The animal on the seal of the Uruvappalli grant is unmistakably a lion; and so also that on the Pikira copper-plate seal.

Since some of these seals have the Lion, it has led some scholars to suppose that the lion was the Pallava emblem; others have suggested that the emblem of the early Pallavas was the lion while that of the later Pallavas was the bull. A classification of the seals of the Pallava copper-plates leads to an interesting result. Those copper-plates of which the seals either bear the lion (like the Uruvappalli and the Pikira) or have devices difficult to decipher owing to their wear, are all issued from victorious camps (Vijaya-skandhāvārāt). These grants were the immediate sequel of victories won on the field. It seems possible that a separate emblem was adopted to mark the seals of grants issued to commemorate victories from those of a more normal character. If that was so, nothing could have been more fitting than the choice of a lion to adorn the seals of these grants, for the lion signifies fierce energy and undaunted courage which are the very qualities necessary for success in war.

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[14] See the descriptions of Rājasimha in the Kailāsanātha inscriptions. S.I.I. Vol. I. Here he is called one who has a good knowledge of the Śaiva Siddhānta. We have a complete description of the literary talents of Pallava Malla in the Kaśākuḍi plates. S.I.I. Vo. II part 3 p. 357.

[15] This is particularly in reference to the faiths of Hinduism. The later Pallava Kings were not well disposed to the Buddhists and Jains.

Another suggestion that offers itself is this. The lion was the Āndhra emblem and their successors, the Pallavas, might have retained it, at least in the locality where it was familiar to the people. But against this view must be noted the fact that the bull is figured on the seal of the British Museum plates of Cārudēvī. Apart from the representations on the seals, we have direct epigraphical references to show that the bull was the emblem of the Pallavas at least of the Simhaviṣṇu line. The inscriptions on the fifth niche inside the enclosure of the Rājasimhēśvara shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple speak of the Pallava king Rājasimha as "Śrī Vṛṣabha darpaḥ"—"He who boasts of the Bull"—and "Ṛṣabha lāñchanaḥ"—"He whose sign is a bull". Rangapatākā, Rājasimha's queen, is known from her own inscriptions in the same temple, to be the queen of the Supreme Lord whose sign was the bull. From the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscriptions we learn, that the "Vṛṣabha lāñchana" was one of the insignia of royalty, and the Kaśākuḍi plates of the same king, Nandivarman II, describe his predecessor Paramēśvaravarman I as "Vṛṣānkaḥ"—one whose emblem was the bull; and Nandivarman himself as "Śākvara-ketanaḥ" (one who had a Bull-flag). A few contemporary literary references also describe the bull as the Pallava emblem. In *Nandikkalambagam* we have the line "Viḍai maṉ poṟi ōlai"; [16] and Tirumangai sings of the "triumphant bull banner and the spear weapon being raised in front of the Pallava King"—"Viḍai veṟ koḍi vēṟpaḍai mun uyartta".[17] Sir Walter Elliot attributes to the Pallavas a number of coins which have on them representations of the bull.[18]

Doubtless, the bull, the symbol of the Pallavas, significantly portrayed the prevailing religion of the state. The bull was a favourite of Śiva, as his vehicle and as his usher, and the fact that the Pallavas throughout their rule used "Ṛṣabha lāñchana" as one of the insignia of royalty irrespective of the personal faith of the individual king, indicates that the state religion was nothing

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16. Text—verse 11.
17. "Periya Tirumoḻi" ii—9.
18. Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*—Nos. 31 to 38, 56 & 57.

but Śaivism. This fact gains further strength when we notice on some of the seals—those of Kūram and Kaśākuḍi plates—the bull being surmounted by the linga.

In the light of all this, the great significance of the bull-emblem of the Pallavas becomes evident. The significance is greater in the light of the Khaṭvānga.

The Khaṭvānga of the Pallavas.

The Khaṭvānga is a club or staff with a skull on the top and is a weapon of Śiva.[19] And as a consequence Śiva is known as Khaṭvāngin, Khaṭvāngadhara and Khaṭvāngabhṛt. Ascetics of the Śaiva sect sometimes had among their possessions the Khaṭvānga. The Khaṭvānga was adopted by the immediate successors of Simhaviṣṇu, the staunch supporters of Śaivism in South India, as a symbol of their faith.

The Kaśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallava Malla describe Paramēśvaravarman I as Khaṭvāngaketuḥ,[20] that is, " one on whose banner was the Khaṭvānga ". The Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ inscriptions of the same king relate that he (Nandivarman) at his coronation was invested with the insignia of the Pallava kings and among those was the Khaṭvānga.[21] We also learn from the Kendūr plates that the powerful adversary of Nandivarman, the Cāḷukyan king Vikramāditya II, who led an invasion into the Pallava kingdom, seized, among other precious spoils of war, the two war instruments of the Pallavas—Kaṭumukhavāditra and Samudraghōṣa and also the Khaṭvāngadhvaja.[22]

It is natural for us to expect to find a sculptural representation of the Khaṭvānga on the wall of the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple, since one of the labels below a panel informs us that the young Pallava king was invested with all insignia of Pallava royalty, among which the Khaṭvānga is specifically mentioned. Unfortunately, the Pallava sculptors have not filled in all the details contained in the inscription and therefore we do not see the staff there. However, in the Kailāsanātha temple, that veritable storehouse of Śaiva iconography, there is a representation of a Śiva gaṇa bearing a Khaṭvānga. Shrine No. 2 on the northern corridor of this temple contains a panel where Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on the top with a worshipper below.

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[19] *Mālatī Mādhava*—5; 4, 23.

[20] S.I.I., Vol. II, part iii, verse 25, p. 357.

[21] S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 135, J. 2.

[22] Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 203, ll 33-6.

There are two gaṇas at the feet of Śiva, one above the other. The lower one holds a staff at the top of which we see a skull fixed and sheltered by the hood of a fine serpent entwining the staff. Mr. Alexander Rea described the panel thus[23]:—" Śiva and Pārvatī seated by the side of a pillar. Three figures—one a devotee and the others, two Gandharvas—kneel under; one of the latter has a serpent and the other a bow ". The plate produced by the author to illustrate his description is by no means complete. The sculpture under reference appears to have been badly touched up and white-washed as a result of which the skull over the staff is not distinctly visible in a photograph. But an examination of the same on the spot will satisfy anybody regarding the accuracy of our identification. A sketch of this Khaṭvānga when compared with those given in Mr. Gopinatha Rao's " Elements of Hindu Iconography " strengthens our point. While describing the weapons of Śiva, Mr. Gopinatha Rao makes the following statement[24]:—" The Khaṭvānga is a curious sort of club, made up of the bone of the forearm or the leg to the end of which a human skull is attached through its foramen. From this description it must be clear that this peculiar weapon comes from very remote antiquity. In the ornate style of the later Cāḷukyas and Hoysalas, the osseous shaft of this old weapon is dispensed with and a well-turned wooden handle is substituted in its place. " The Kailāsanātha temple sculpture of the Khaṭvānga is in fact depicted in relation to Śiva as his weapon, and we can safely assume that the conception of the same staff used by the Pallava kings was not very different from this contemporary representation.

The valuable and celebrated stanzas of Tirumangaimannan on the Paramēśvara Viṇṇagar, i.e., the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, contain references to the Ṛṣabha lāñchana, i.e., Viḍai vēl koḍi—the victorious bull banner and to the war instruments of the Pallava already mentioned. It appears at first sight that the Khaṭvānga is excluded from the list of important Pallava emblems mentioned therein. But a careful reading of the verses shows that the illustrious poet has not failed to make a note of it. In verse six we have the lines: " Pāmbuḍaippallavar kōn paṇinda paramēśvara Viṇṇagaramaduvē ", i.e., the Viṣṇu temple where worshipped the Pallava king, the possessor of a serpent. In the light of our description of the Khaṭvānga found in the Kailāsanātha temple, this reference in the verse to a serpent cannot be considered to indicate anything but the serpent which must have entwined the Khaṭvānga of the Pallavas.[25]

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[23] *Pallava Architecture*—p. 33, Shrine No. 34, Plate No. XXXIX, fig. IV.

[24] *Hindu Iconography,* Vol. I, part I, p. 7.

The Royal Seal.

We have seen that the insignia of the Pallava royalty was the bull; the same animal it may be inferred served as a mark in their royal seals. This is clearly indicated in the *Nandikkalambagam* which describes its hero Nandivarman III of Teḷḷāṟu as 'Viḍai maṇ poṟi ōlai, viḍēl viḍugē'[26] which means the bull that adorned the clay which was found on the palm leaves that bore his royal commands. (viḍai-bull, maṇ-clay, poṟi-sign or mark, ōlai-tiru ōlai, i.e., the royal order).

In the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription there is a definite statement that Nandivarman Pallava Malla was invested with the power of issuing orders under the name, 'Viḍēl Viḍugu'.[27] Here the reading of the Epigraphists is Viḍēl *Piḍugu,* but a close examination of the inscription *in situ* reveals that it should be read as *viḍugu* and not as *piḍugu.*

The term 'Viḍēl Viḍugu' has a very significant place in Pallava history as a perusal of the epigraphical references to this term arranged in chronological order will show.[28] The precise meaning of this term has so far not been explained satisfactorily as the only interpretation available and generally accepted is 'the crashing thunderbolt.'[29] The latter half of the term, 'viḍugu' is taken to be the Telugu-Canarese word 'piḍugu' a thunderbolt.

Obviously the term is by no means easy; but one is tempted to suggest that *viḍēl* may be a contracted form of *viḍai vel,* and that *viḍugu* may be an abstract noun derived from 'viḍu'—to discharge or send forth, so that the whole expression may stand for '(an order) despatched with the victorious bull-mark.'

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[25] Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar considered ("*The Pallavas*" in Tamil, part iii, p. 6), that 'Pāmbuḍaippallavar kōn' referred to the necklace ugrōdaya which Pallava Malla seized from, the Ganga King. That this necklace was in the shape of Ādi-Śeṣa and that therefore Nandivarman was called 'Pāmbuḍaippallavar kōn' seems to be a far-fetched interpretation of Tirumangai's statement.

[26] Text page 6 verse 11.

[27] S.I.I., Vol IV., Line J. I.

[28] I have arranged in Note E all the epigraphical and literary references to 'Viḍēl Viḍugu.'

[29] Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII., p. 7.

NOTE E:—Epigraphical and Literary References to 'Viḍēl Viḍugu'—arranged chronologically.

Nandivarman II:

The Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscriptions state that the ministers and others, after anointing Nandivarman as king and investing him with the various insignia of royalty, proclaimed his (Nandivarman's) authority of a Viḍēl-viḍugu king. (Viḍēl-viḍugu ennum tiruvāṇai naḍāvi abhiṣēkam śeydu).[30]

The Paṭṭattāḷmangalam plates of the same king record that the inscription was engraved by Śrī Daṇḍi, son of Viḍēl-Viḍugu Pallava Perun Taccan of Aimpaṇaiccēri in Kaccippēḍu. (Ivveḻuttu veṭṭinēn Kaccippēṭṭ-Aimpuṇaiccēri Viḍēlviḍugu-Pallava-peruntaccan magan Śrī-Daṇḍiyēn).[31]

Dantivarman:

The Śiva cave at Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi is said to have been excavated by one Viḍēl-Viḍugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Kuvāvan Śāttan. Here the Muttaraiya chief is a subordinate of the Viḍēl-Viḍugu king (a Pallava)—" Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyan-āgiya Kuvāvancāttanen" (Pudukkoṭṭah inscriptions, p. 11, No. 18).

Nandivarman III:

The Tiruvallam inscription of Nandi III dated the 17th year informs us that three villages were clubbed together into one village, received the new name of Viḍēl-Viḍugu-Vikramāditya-Caturvēdimangalam. The second member of the triple compound, namely, Vikramāditya, is the name of the Bāṇa chief at whose request the grant was made, and the first member, Viḍēl-Vidugu, refers to the Pallava king Nandivarman III, whose feudatory the Bāṇa chief was. (S.I.I. Vol. III, p. 93).

Another place which had the prefix Viḍēl-Viḍugu was Viḍēl-Viḍugu Kudiraiccēri mentioned in the Ulagaḷandaperamāḷ inscription of Teḷḷāṟu Nandi who granted a trade license to the merchants of this village (M.C.C. Magazine, vol. VIII, p. 102).

In South Arcot we have an inscription of the same king which speaks of a certain Viḍēl-Viḍugu Iḷangō Adi Araiyar and also a weight called 'Viḍēlviḍugu kal'. (295 of 1902).

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30. S.I.I. Vol. IV, line J. 1.
31. Ep. Ind. Vol. 18, p. 122, ll. 59—60.

Nandikkalambagam which is supposed to be a contemporary literary piece furnishes us with the several surnames of its hero Nandi of Teḷḷāṟu, and Viḍēl-Viḍugu is one of them (see vv. 11, 13, 84).

Nṛpatungavarman:

The Āṇatti of the Bāhūr Plates is one *Viḍōlai-Viḍugu* Kāḍuveṭṭi Tamiḻa Pēraraiyan. (Ep. Ind. vol. XVIII, p. 5).

From an inscription of the same king in Nārttāmalai dated the seventh year of his reign, we learn that the Śiva cave at the place was excavated by Śāttan Paḻiyili, son of Viḍēl Viḍugu Muttaraiyan (a Pallava feudatory)—365 of 1904.

The donor in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription of Nṛpatunga dated the 18th year, is the wife of a Pallava feudatory as indicated by the title *Viḍēl-Viḍugu.* She is introduced as *Viḍēl Viḍugu* Pallavarayar Dēviyār. (162 of 1912).

Certain coins in the Pallava days were known as Viḍēl Viḍugu tuḷaiyiṭṭa śempon, which were identifiable by a hole in the centre certifying to the fineness and genuineness of the coin and which bore the hall-mark "*Viḍēl Viḍugu*". An inscription of Nṛpatunga from South Arcot mentions these coins. (No. 297 of 1902, S.I.I., vol. VII, p. 455).

Aparājita:

That a measure called "Viḍēl Viḍugu" was in use in the Pallava period is learnt from an inscription of Aparājita found at Satyavēḍu. It says that the ghee should be measured by the "Viḍēl Viḍugu" uḻakku. (32 of 1912).

Kampavarman:

We have already noted that a Kodumbāḷūr chief is mentioned in an inscription of Nandi III as a subordinate of the Viḍēl Viḍugu king. This is supported by an inscription of Kampavarman from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr registering the gift of Pūdi Arundigai, who is said to be the wife of Koḍumbāḷur Viḍēlviḍugu Iḷangōvēḷār. (174 of 1912).

There seems to have been a shrine at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr called Viḍēlviḍugīśvaram (Annual Report on Epigraphy 1912). We do not find any Pallava inscriptions at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr prior to the time of Nṛpatunga. We may, therefore, suppose that the shrine was built either by Nṛpatunga or by Aparājitavikramavarman or perhaps by Kampavarman.

Other Epigraphical references:

A record of the tenth year of the Pāṇḍya king Māṟan-Śaḍaiyan from Sendalai (Tanjore Dt.) registers a gift of land to the Piḍāri temple of Mangalam at Niyamam by the servant of a certain Viḍēl-Viḍugu Muttaraiyan. Venkayya suggests that he must have been anterior to Nandippōttavarman, probably the victor at Teḷḷāṟu. (10 of 1899).

The weight called Viḍēl-Viḍugu Kal already noticed in the inscription of Nandivarman from South Arcot was also in use in the Trichinopoly District, as may be seen from an inscription from Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai which mentions the weight Viḍēl-Viḍugu Kal. (466 of 1908). This weight continued to be in use in the Cōḷa days also, as is recorded in an inscription of Parakēsari Varman from Tiruccenduṟai. Here the standard weight is known as Viḍēl-Viḍugu Kal.

At Tirumaṇañjeri (Tanjore District) we have an inscription of the Cōḷa king Rājā-Rāja I—referring to a village called Viḍēl Viḍugu Dēvi Caturvēdimangalam which was a Brahmadāya in Vaḍakarai Kuṟukkai Nāḍu. Obviously, this place was named after a Pallava Queen. (6 of 1914).

The Śiva cave at Tirumayyam (Pudukkoṭṭah State) contains an inscription which reads that Perumbiḍugu Perundēvi, the mother of Viḍēl-Viḍugu Viḻu Pēradi Aṟaiyan *alias* Śāttan Māṟan repaired the temple and granted a village.

The Tanjore inscriptions of the Cōḷa king Rāja-Rāja refer to a place known as Viḍēlviḍugu-Pallavapuram in Kākkalur-nāḍu.

CHAPTER IV

MINISTRY.

Writers on Hindu polity unanimously agree that the chariot of Government never moves on a single wheel and therefore, strongly recommend that a king should always act in consultation with a group of ministers and with their co-operation.

The working of the Pallava central Government does not contradict the statements of the ancient writers. In the early contemporary work *Kirātārjunīya* we read: "Prosperity of every kind delights to live there where kings and ministers are always mutually well-disposed."[1] Evidences, though few, may be adduced to show that the Pallava kings were not far removed from the ideal of Bhāravi in seeking the advice and help of their ministers who, from the way they are introduced in the later state records, seem to have earned the praise of their masters by rendering faithful service.

Amātyas.

One of the earliest references, in fact, the only epigraphical reference to Amātyas, is found in the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates which speak of the Amātyas of Śivaskandavarman.[2] The only literary evidence is from the *Periyapurāṇam* which relates that the Pallava king Guṇabhara sent his amaiccas (Amātyas) to fetch Tirunāvukkaraśu.[3]

Distinctions are made between Amātyas and Mantrins. While a Mantrin is generally understood to be a diplomat, an Amātya is a councillor.[4] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] and in the *Artha-śāstra*, Amātya is used in a general sense, including both the Sacivas[6] and the Mantrins. Manu uses the word Saciva in a general sense and Amātya to denote the chief minister[7] while the Śukranīti takes Mantrin to mean the chief minister.[8]

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[1] "Sa kim sakhā sādhu na śāsti yōdhipam hitānna yaḥ samśṛṇutē sa kim prabhuḥ : |
Sadānukūlēṣu hi kurvatē ratim nṛpēṣv-amātyeṣu ca sarvasampadaḥ. ||
—Canto I, verse 5.

[2] Ep. Ind. Vol. I, page 5: "Amacca," prākṛt for "Amātya."

[3] *Periyapurāṇām* used 'Mantrin' and 'Amaicca' synonymously—Tirunāvukkaraśu Purāṇam, Verse 90-92

With the scanty evidences in hand it is not possible to say whether any such distinctions were maintained between Amātyas and Mantrins in the Pallava period. The Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates introduce the Amātyas among other officials who were informed of a brahmadēya grant which the king made from his capital Kāñcī.

Mahāmātras.

The Mahāmātra of Arthaśāstra is understood to be a minister[9] and in Aśōkan inscriptions these Mahāmātras appear as high officials of the State.[10]

Now, according to the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription of Pallava Malla, the deputation to Hiraṇyavarman consisted of the 'Mātras', the 'Ghaṭikaiyār' and the 'Mūlaprakṛti'.[11] P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar[12] and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar[13] have interpreted the 'Mātras' as ministers. Obviously they have taken the Mātras to be Mahāmātras of the Arthaśāstra. However, a careful examination of the inscription *in situ* proves that it is really Mahatras and not Mahāmātras.[14] So far, we have no reference to Mahāmātras in Pallava epigraphy.

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[4] According to Kāmandakīya Nīti, a Mantrin is one who should think over, decide and report to the king about the use of the four means, peace, corruption, dissensions and force, when, where and how, as also about the respective results, good, bad or middling. Amātya on the other hand, is spoken of as a councillor who should report to the king about the cities, villages, hamlets and forests in his dominions, the arable land, the cultivated, the cultivator, the revenue due from them, the actual receipts and the balance; the forest lands, the barren plots, the fertile ones that require no cultivation; the receipts for the year from fines, taxes, mines and treasure-troves, the ownerless, the lost and the stolen portions.

[5] Yuddha kāṇḍa, CXXX, 17-21.

[6] *Kāmandakīya Nīti*—IV. A Saciva, according to Kāmandakīya Nīti is a war minister who should examine carefully and report to the king the previous stock, the fresh supply, the balance due, the useful and the useless among elephants, horses, chariots, camels and infantry in addition to many other duties connected with the king's militia.

[7] Manu, Ch. 7, v. 54.

[8] Śukra, ch. II, line 145 ff.

[9] Book I, ch. 12, Sāmā Śāstri's edn. See also Mahāmātriya—the official chamber of the ministry—Artha Śāstra Book II ch. 5

[10] Rock. Edict. V, XII, Minor Rock Edict I.

[11] S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 135 line I.

[12] The History of the Pallavas (Tamil) p. 2.

[13] *Hindu Administrative Institutions*—p. 105.

Parañjoti or Śiruttoṇḍar, who served Narasimhavarman I is said to have been born in the family of Mahāmātras, but here the term seems to refer to a class of physicians.[15]

Mantri Maṇḍala and Mantrin.

All our epigraphical references to the Mantrins of the Pallavas belong to the time of Pallava Malla and to those of his successors. The existence of a "council of Ministers" is attested by the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription which significantly introduces the 'Mantri Maṇḍala' of the Pallava government.[16]

Regarding its actual composition and its strength we have no direct information but we may presume that it must have been more or less modelled on the council of ministers of ancient India to which we possess copious references.

The *Arthaśāstra* mentions a Mantri-pariṣad[17] which met on important occasions and we read of Pariṣa in the Jātakas and Aśōkan inscriptions.[18] A council of ministers consisting of thirty-two members is described in the *Mahābhārata* whereas according to Manu the assembly of ministers must consist of seven or eight carefully chosen men.[19] Bṛhaspati, according to Kauṭilya, recommended a council of sixteen, and it is possible that the strength of the Mantri-maṇḍala of the Pallavas was similar to these, the chief or the prime minister being at the head of the council. A description of the prime minister of Nandivarman is contained in the Kaśākuḍi plates[20]:—Brahma Śrī Rāja who was a friend of the world; who was filled with all virtues as the ocean with a heap of gems; who was famous, modest, handsome and long-lived; whose speech was never rough; who was distinguished among men; who just like Bṛhaspati, the chief minister of the Lord of the Heavens, was the chief minister of the Pallava king Nandivarman, the Lord of

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[14] The Mahatras or Mahattaras are men of position in the village. Compare Jānapada.

[15] Śiruttoṇḍa Nāyanār Purāṇam, v. 2 & 3.

[16] 37 of 1888. S.I.I., Vol. IV. Maṇḍala means an assembly, a group, whole body, totality, a circle.

[17] Book I, ch. 15.

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The chief minister[22] of Nandivarman III was, as informed by the Velūrpāḷaiyam plates, Nampa, who is described "as the autumnal moon in the firmament of the Agradatta family".[23] Agradatta was probably a minister of one of the early Pallava kings and the members of his family must have been serving the Pallava monarchs in their ministerial council.

In the time of Nandivarman's successor Nṛpatunga the chief minister is known to have been one Uttamaśīla who was much respected by the king and was like a Bṛhaspati to Nṛpatunga.[24]

Ministerial Titles.

Among the ministers who have been mentioned individually above, the prime minister of Nandivarman II, bore the title Brahma Śrī Rāja, though in the Tamil portion of the grant he is designated by the surname of Brahma Yuva Rāja. Uttamaśīla, according to the Bāhūr plates, possessed the title Viḍēlviḍugu Kāḍuveṭṭi Tamiḻa-Pēraraiyan.[25] The ministerial titles Brahma Śri Rāja and Pēraraiyan only reveal the prevalence under the late Pallavas, of the ancient Tamil practice of conferring on distinguished ministers similar titles of royalty. "Tennavan Brahmarājan" was an official title conferred on Māṇikkavāśagar by the Pāṇḍya king. Mārāyām, same as Mahārāja, was a title conferred by kings of the Tamil land on their officials.[26] Again, Arasu in the Kanarese districts was a feudal title.[27]

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[21] The original has 'Pōtrēna' which has been corrected by Hultzsch to 'Pautrena'. I think this correction is unnecessary for 'Pōtra' means the office of a priest and the significance of this in the case of the minister will be elucidated presently.

[22] Here the minister is called only Mantrin, but it is quite likely that Mantri here stands for the chief minister as in *Śukranīti*.

[23] Atrājñaptirabhūnmantrī Nampanāmā Mahīpatēh:—S.I.I. Vol. II, pt. V, p. 509.

[24] Ājñaptir—Uttamaśīlas—trailoky-eśvara-pūjitaḥ: Mantrī Bṛhaspati-prakhyo rajna(ḥ) śrī Tumgva(r)mmaṇah:
—Verse 28, Ep. Ind. 18, p. 11.

[25] *Ibid.* p 11, line 47.

[26] Mārāyam peṟṟa neḍu moḻiyānum—*Tolkāppiyam.*

[27] *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions.* Rice. Also Ep. Carnatica.

Now, the title Brahma Yuva Rāja borne by Nandivarman's minister is of some interest. Pallava Malla having been an elected king, there could not have been a Yuvarāja-elect in the time of Paramēśvaravarman II. If there was one, he would have claimed the throne. Secondly, since the Kaśākuḍi plates are dated the twenty-second year of Pallava Malla and he was only thirty-four years of age then, his son could not have been old enough to have occupied the place of a Yuvarāja in the realm. Under these conditions, it seems correct to maintain that the prime minister was also doing the duties of the Yuvarāja for the time being and hence bore the double title Brahma Śrī Rāja and Brahma Yuva Rāja. The minister Nampa is called "Iṟaiyūr Uḍaiyān"—the lord of Iṟaiyūr.[28] It may be that some of the ministers were in charge of a part of the Pallava kingdom and enjoyed the revenues in return for services to the central Government.

Of the ministers mentioned, we know definitely that the minister of Nandivarman II was a Brahman because he is described as "Jyeṣṭhēṇa Pōtrēṇa". With regard to the other two ministers, though the comparison of them to Bṛhaspati may suggest that they were Brahmans, still we cannot be certain since there is nothing clear to indicate the caste to which they belonged.

The duties of the Ministers.

The ministers Nampa and Uttamaśīla appear in the respective records as Ājñaptis, i.e., those who carry out the king's orders with regard to the endowments made. Thus we see the executive duties of the Pallava ministers. They rendered their co-operation and service not only in matters of administration but also on vital questions concerning the foreign policy of the State. According to the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription, it was the ministers who spoke to Nandivarman about the powerful enemy, the Cāḷukya king, and persuaded him to overcome this dangerous rival.[29]

In stating the qualifications of ministers, Manu is of opinion that they should be learned in the treatises, brave, skilled in the use of weapons and well-descended.[30] The enumeration of the qualities of a few ministers observed above proves that these points cited by Manu were maintained in the choice of the ministers for the Pallava Government.

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[28] Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates—S.I.I., Vol. II, part V, p. 509.

[29] S.I.I. Vol. IV.

[30] VII, 54.

It is clear that Manu expected the ministers to be also military leaders or generals and we may point out that even this qualification was emphasised in the case of the Pallava ministers. Though not all the ministers of the Mantri-maṇḍala, at least a few of them, seem to have been trained for war. We have already seen the ministers persuading Nandivarman to attack the Cāḷukyas. In Śiṟuttoṇḍar we have possibly an example of a minister who acted as the commander-in-chief of the army, led an expedition against Vātāpi and destroyed the city.[31]

The Purōhita or spiritual adviser of the king, from early times, was an important member of the ministry.[32] Instances are not wanting to show that the offices of the chief minister and the royal priest were combined in one; [33] and it seems to have been so in the case of Brahma Śrī Rāja. He was the Pōtra as well as the Mukhyamantri of Nandivarman II. In fact, he was performing the duties of three officers including those of the Yuvarāja.

One of the ancient and recognised privileges of kings' ministers was the part they took in the coronation and sometimes in the election of a king. This is reflected by Vālmīki's description of the ministers as 'King-makers'—'Rājakartāraḥ'.[34]

Among those who took part in the election and coronation of Nandivarman II, the council of ministers (Mantri-maṇḍala) is mentioned first and the feudatories and others come only after it. [35]

SECRETARIAT.

There does not seem to have been a separate department consisting of the king's secretaries as in the Cōḷa period; still, there are a few notices in Pallava epigraphy about the secretaries of the king. "Rahasyādhikṛta" who is generally understood to be the private secretary of the king,[36] is mentioned in the Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates and he was a Brahman who enjoyed the revenues of the village of Kolivāḷa: "Kolivāḷa-bhōjakasa rahasādhikata-Bhaṭṭisammasa Sahatthalikhitēna Paṭṭikā kadatti".[37] Fleet observes that likhita is a technical term used in connection with the manual drafting or writing of a record as opposed to the composition and engraving of it and here Bhaṭṭiśarman evidently drafted the contents of the record and wrote it on the copper plates for the guidance of the engraver who impressed the writing with the help of his tools.[38] The other reference to king's secretaries belongs to the 8th century.

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[31] In the Deccan, about the 10th century, ministers were very frequently military leaders. The titles "Daṇḍanāyaka" borne by ministers of the Deccan stamps them as military leaders.

Sivaji wanted strictly that all his ministers excepting the Paṇḍit should be trained as military leaders—Ind. Ant. L. p. 135.

[32] According to *Kāmandakīya Nīti*, the spiritual adviser should be expert in kingly polity and the sacred lore ; and the science and art of Government, human and divine weapons and the array and training of armies should ever find in him their best and highest exponent.

Gautama. 11, 2-12. 17. Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, I. 10. 7 ; Artha śāstra I, ch. 10; Kamandakīya Nīti IV. 32; Sukranīti, III. 78.

[33] Bṛhaspati and Vasiṣṭha.

[34] Ayodhyākāṇḍa, ch. LXXIX.

[35] "Mantrimaṇḍalamum Mahāsāmantarum, Ubhaya Gaṇattaārum, Ghaṭakaiyārgaḷum, Nandivarmanenṟu Abhiṣēkam śeydu . . . "—S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 135, line J.1.

In the Kaśākuḍi plates a group of officers called "Vāyil-kēḻpār"[39] appear along with the survey officers and magistrates. In the light of the interpretation of "Kiḻ-vāyil-kēḻpār" into an under-secretary, found in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravi Varman, Hultzsch translates Vāyil-kēḻpār into secretaries. It is not unlikely that the Vāyil-kēḻpār as executors of the royal errands were occasionally sent out to inspect the lands and villages given away as gifts.

In dealing with the "Vāyil-kēḻpār" we are certainly reminded of the "Tiruvāykkēḻvi"[40] of the Cōḷas, but whether the duties of the Vāyilkēḻpar were identical with those of the Tiruvāykkēḻvi we cannot assert at present.[41]

TREASURY.

"It is a universal saying that the treasury is the support of kings."[42] Considering in general, the economic condition of the

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[36] *Mysore and Coorg*: Rice. Bühler, however, translates "Rahasādhikata" into "Privy Councillor."

[37] Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 7, lines 50-51.

[38] Fleet *Gupta inscriptions* p. 99 note 3.

[39] S.I.I., Vol. II, part iii, p. 361.

[40] Inscription of Rāja Rāja, S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, p. 276.

[41] On 'Tiruvāykkēḻvi' K. V. S. Aiyar remarks: "There were a number of persons of this class appointed in ancient times. Some at least of them ought to be in attendance on the king always to note down what he said. The king might give a suggestion or order while he is bathing, when giving charity, inspecting any place or institution such as colleges, temples or other buildings. Members of this class who were in attendance on the king by turns communicated first the royal orders to the tirumandiravōlai officers"—*Ancient Dekhan*, p. 372.

[42] Mahābhārata-Śāntiparvam XII, 130, 35. Kāmandikīyá Nīti—XXI, 33. 'Kōśamūlo hi rājēti pravādaḥ sārvalaukikaḥ.'

Pallava realm, the constant warfare of the Pallava kings with Cāḷukyas and other contemporary powers; the activities of the monarchs in the field of art; the large endowments to Brahmans and to temples; and the list of immunities (Parihāras) that accompanied such gifts; all these which must have involved enormous expenses, could not have been met adequately, if the treasury of the Pallava central government was not substantial.

The Officer in Charge.

Nothing definite is known from the early Prākṛt and Sanskrit charters as to the organisation of the treasury. In the time of Pallava Malla the central exchequer was in charge of an Adhyakṣa. The Taṇḍantōṭṭam grant furnishes a few details regarding this "Kośa-Adhyakṣa" who appears as the Ājñapti.[43] He is described as a 'respectable wise man named Kumāra who (had stood) the test of honesty (upadhā) religious merit (dharma), wealth (artha) and desire (kāma), who was the receptacle of upright conduct, prideless and devoted solely to the service of (his) master, whose wealth is shared by (all) good men, who seeks refuge in virtue, is free to (all his) relations and is clever in discharging the duties of a treausurer'.[44]

A stone inscription from Uḻalūr which again belongs to the time of Pallava Malla speaks of one Māṇikkappaṇḍāram—Kāppān evidently an officer in charge of the treasury. (Māṇikka-valuables; Paṇḍāram-treasury; kāppān-keeper). At the direction of another royal officer—koḍukkappiḷḷai-who appears to be, as judged by his name, the officer in charge of gifts, the Māṇikkappaṇḍāram kāppān executed a demand of the assembly of the Ūr regarding the obtaining of some parihāras.[45]

Both the koḍukkappiḷḷai and the Māṇikkappandāram-kāppān were probably officers of the Central Government. The presence of Kōśa-adhyakṣa and the Māṇikkappanḍāram-kāppān[46] in the same reign leads us to infer that the treasury of the Pallava Government in the eighth century was managed by more than one officer under the supervision of Kōśa-adhyakṣa.

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[43] Ājñaptirabhūtsa ēva matimān dharmārtha kāmōpadhā śuddhaśśuddhacaritrapātramamdassvāmyēka bhakti vrataḥ, satsāmānyadhanaśca dharma śaraṇass(am) bandhiniryantraṇah kōśādhyakṣaniyōgakarma kuśalaḥ kulyaḥ kumārāhvayah': S.I.I. Vol. II, pt. V. p. 520.

[44] *Ibid.* p. 530 (adapted).

[45] 17 of 1899.

[46] The treasurer is designated "Bhāṇḍāgārika" in "Silāhāra" records. "Śrī-panḍāram" which signifies in old writings, as it still does, in Travan-

In passing, we may suggest that the duties of Nandivarman's koḍukkappiḷḷai were perhaps similar to those of the Gṛhakṛtya of Kashmirian Constitution of the twelfth century. According to Kalhaṇa, the Gṛhakṛtya, besides looking after the Palace finance, was also in charge of the management of gifts and endowments to Gods, Brahmans, royal servants, paupers, strangers etc.[47]

JUDICIARY.

Judicial Courts.

The king was at the head of all justice and controlled the courts in the districts and villages. The *Mattavilāsa Prahasana* furnishes the information that the Pallava judicial court at the capital city of Kāñcī was known as the Adhikaraṇa. The Pāśupata of the play made the suggestion that the quarrel between the Kāpālika and the Śākya bhikṣu over the lost kapālam should be decided by the judicial court. "Nāyam Vyavahāro mayā paricchēttum śakyate tad adhikaraṇameva yāsyāmaḥ." There were doubtless similar adhikaraṇas in other cities also. The Sanskrit play *Mricchakaṭikā* in Act IX speaks of king's judges as Adhikaraṇika, and Adhikaraṇa Bhōjakas, who, sitting in the court (Adhikaraṇa Maṇḍapa), administered justice. In the *Daśakumāra Carita*, we have a court of justice known as Adhikaraṇa. Judges called "Dharmādhikārins" are mentioned in *Pañcatantra.*[48]

A survey of the provincial government of the Guptas based on the study of their inscriptions will enable us to learn that the Viṣayapatis had their headquarters at Adhiṣṭhānas (towns) where they had their Adhikaraṇas (courts).[49]

The Adhikaraṇa and the Karaṇa.

The Kaśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallava Malla mention among the parihāras the two items, namely "Karaṇadaṇḍam" and "Adhikaraṇadaṇḍam." Daṇḍa is an unspecified fine and the

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core, the royal treasury or the Revenue Department; Paṇḍārattār, with a personal termination, the officers of the treasury or of the Revenue. In modern times these terms have been superseded by the foreign words "Divānam" and "Divānattar". Vide Ellis, "*Mirāśi Rights*"—p. 80.

[47] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*—VII; 42-43.

[48] "Atha vadhyasthānē tam nīyamānam ayalōkya dēvaśarmā tān dharmādhikāriṇo gatvā prōvāca."—Bk. I story 4.

[49] Dāmōdarpur copper plates of the Gupta kings.

Arthaśāstra mentions daṇḍa as one of the items of royal receipts from the city.[50] Now the king's order in the Kaśākuḍi plates is that the "Karaṇadaṇḍam" and "Adhikaraṇadaṇḍam" must be paid not to the king but to the donee concerned. Since Adhikaraṇa is the district or the chief court, the "Adhikaraṇadaṇḍam" must naturally refer to the fines imposed on the offenders by the District or the Chief Court, and "Karaṇadaṇḍam" would then be fines imposed by the Court inferior in rank to the "Adhikaraṇa". This fact leads us to infer that there were different grades of courts, and the desire on the part of the Pallava king to allow the donee to enjoy both the Adhikaraṇadaṇḍam and Karaṇadaṇḍam hints that there was a system of appeal from the inferior to the superior court and that the latter had certain control over the former. The effect of the parihārā would then be, that fines collected from that specified village by the Karaṇa as well as by the Adhikaraṇa should be paid not into the central treasury but to the above-mentioned donee. We have in the same grant three sets of officers namely, "Nilaikkaḷattār", "Adhikārar" and "Vayilkēḷpār" in whose presence the paradatti was made. There is nothing to prevent us from taking the Adhikāras to be the magistrates of the district and corresponding to the adhikārin of the early and later Sanskrit inscriptions and adhikāri of Cōḷa epigraphs. Hultzsch's translation of 'Adhikārar' into 'ministers' seems unconvincing.

Corruption in the Adhikaraṇa.

The Judicial court, adhikaraṇa of the Pallava central government, was not free from corruption, and justice was not meted out to all without partiality. A direct hit on the morality of the officers of the judicial court in the city of Kāñci, comes straight from the greatest of the Pallava kings, the author of *Mattavilāsa.* When the Pāśupata of the play suggested that the quarrel should be decided by the court, Dēvasōmā immediately bursts forth with the following statement[51]:—"Why, this man has heaps of riches drawn from the revenues of many monasteries; and with it he can stuff the mouths of the court officials at pleasure. But I am the maid of a poor Kapālin whose only wealth is a snake's-skin and sacred ash and what riches have I here that I should go into the court?" The author purposely exposed the follies of the judicial court in order that reformation may be aimed at. In this connection, the purpose of the king in writing the Prahasana cannot be forgotten.

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[50] *Arthaśāstra*—II. 6.

[51] Text—p. 33.

Dharmāsana.

Dharmāsana literally means "judgment seat", but in later Pallava inscriptions it appears as an organised judicial body or law court, which controlled the village adminstrative body and dealt with cases concerning temple affairs. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has understood Dharmāsana in its literal sense and comments[52] on it:—"There was a place usually set apart which went by the name 'Dharmāsana', a permanently appointed hall of justice, as it were, where this committee could assemble and carry on their work from day to day as a body whose work was continuous and more regular than that of any other committee". However, it seems to me that Dharmāsana was a judicial court of the central government and that it did not come within the field of rural administration as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has represented it.

The earliest reference to Dharmāsana in Pallava inscriptions is found in a stone epigraph of Nṛpatungavarman from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[53] where the sabhā of Maṇali bound themselves to pay a fine to the Dharmāsana for failure to discharge the functions for which they had contracted. Such payments of fine under similar conditions by similar bodies, like village assemblies, are mentioned in inscriptions of Aparājita[54] and Kampavarman.[55]

Further, in the Cōḷa inscriptions we find that different assemblies bind themselves to pay fines to the Dharmāsana in case of default.[56] In a Parakēsarivarman inscription found in the Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñcī, it is the assembly of the Ūr (Urom) that pledge themselves to pay the fine to the king at the Dharmāsana.[57] "Dharmāsanamuḷḷiṭṭa tān vēṇḍu kōvukku niśadam etc."

Considering all this, we have to conclude that the village assemblies and the members of the Ūr paid this specified fine to a court which was directly under the control of the king. Therefore, the Dharmāsana cannot be a judicial committee of the village.

We know that "Dharmasthīya" was one of the two courts of Law in the central government as represented by Kauṭilya and it is quite possible that the Dharmāsana of the later Pallava and early Cōḷa days corresponds to the Dharmasthīya of Arthaśāstra.

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[52] *Hindu Administrative Institutions*—p. 203.

[53] 162 of 1912.

[54] 161 & 190 of 1912.

[55] 189 of 1912,

[56] S.I.I., Vol. I, Nos. 146.

[57] *Ibid.* No. 148.

The chief business dealt with by the Dharmasthīya court related to cases of civil law of a general nature,[58] (Vyavahārasthāpana). Here again, we see the Dharmāsana closely resembling the Dharmasthīya, since the cases coming up before the former are also civil in nature, i.e., the agreement of a village assembly with another party in regard to temple endowments etc.

We must now try and explain what the relation of the Adhikaraṇa of the Pallavas was to the Dharmāsana of the later days. We have compared the Dharmāsana with the Dharmasthīya and it may also be suggested that the Adhikaraṇa corresponded to the other court of Arthaśāstra, namely, the Kaṇṭakaśōdhana.[59] A perusal of the cases that were usually brought before the Adhikaraṇa of Sanskrit literature will show that they were criminal in nature as in the case of the Kaṇṭakaśōdhana court.

SURVEY.

Land Survey.

The efficiency of the system of land survey and revenue administration under the Cōḷas was remarkable. The beginnings of the system may be traced under Pallava rule. All the villages and lands within the kingdom seem to have been surveyed and detailed records of land rights including schedules of tax-free lands were maintained by the village and district officers; and any alteration or transference of ownership was duly noted in the registers. Some concrete instances found in the Pallava copper-plates may be cited to show this.

Firstly, whenever a whole village or certain units of land were endowed by the king himself or under his sanction, it was carefully stated that those tax-free lands which were already enjoyed by Brahmans or by temples were to be excluded from the later endowment. This is expressed by the phrase "Devabhōgahalavarjjam" in the early Sanskrit charters. There is a definite statement in the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam plates that the endowment should be made with the exclusion of the old Brahmadēya which amounted to twenty-four Velis—"Paḻam Piramadēyam irubattu nālu vēliyum nīkki".

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[58] *Arthaśāstra*, Book III, Ch. I.

[59] For a detailed account of the working of these two Law Courts, reference may be made to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra Books III & IV and also *Mauryan Polity*, V. R. R. Dikṣitar, pp. 160-168.

Secondly, the endowed lands were accurately measured in the presence of village officials or in the presence of the officers of the district as the case may be, and boundaries were fixed after surveying the specified plots as known by the phrase "Paḍāgai valam vandu kallum kaḷḷiyum nāṭṭi".

The order from the king, i.e., 'Tirumugam' regarding gifts of lands, was generally addressed to the headman of the district or the village but sometimes the assembly of the nāḍu ('nāṭṭār')[60] was responsible for carrying out the king's order. The details of the gift were set down in the 'kōn-ōlai' or 'aṟai-ōlai' and the officers who received the kōn-ōlai, after proclaiming these details to all the members of the locality, faithfully carried them out.

A typical example of the prevalence of a detailed land survey system is made out from the Uruvappaḷḷi grant[61] which says "In this village there are two hundred entire *Nivartanas.* The limits of those Nivartanas are : On the west, the boundaries of the village of Kandukūra are the limit ; on the south the river Suprayogā is the limit ; on the east, the same is the limit ; to the north by south of the east there is a rock on the side of the great road ; proceeding thence to the north, there is a tamarind tree ; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the road to the village of Karupūra, and to the village of Kandukūra ; proceeding thence to the north, there is a heap of rocks ; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the limit of the cultivated field of the Brahmans in the village of Karupūra ; on the north the limit is a large tamarind tree surrounded by a heap of rocks ; proceeding thence to the west, the limit is the edge of the boundaries of the village Koṇḍamuruvuḍu." (Plan at p. 62.)

We meet with similar details of boundaries in the Kūram, Paṭṭattālmangalam, Udayēndiram and Bāhūr plates.[62] In fixing the boundaries of villages and lands, natural objects of some permanence were generally utilised such as rivers, mountains, rocks, canals, big trees etc., as we already saw in the case of the Uruvappaḷḷi village.

In the Kaśakuḍi plates we notice the statement that the gift was made in the presence of Nilakkaḷattār, Adhikārar[63] and

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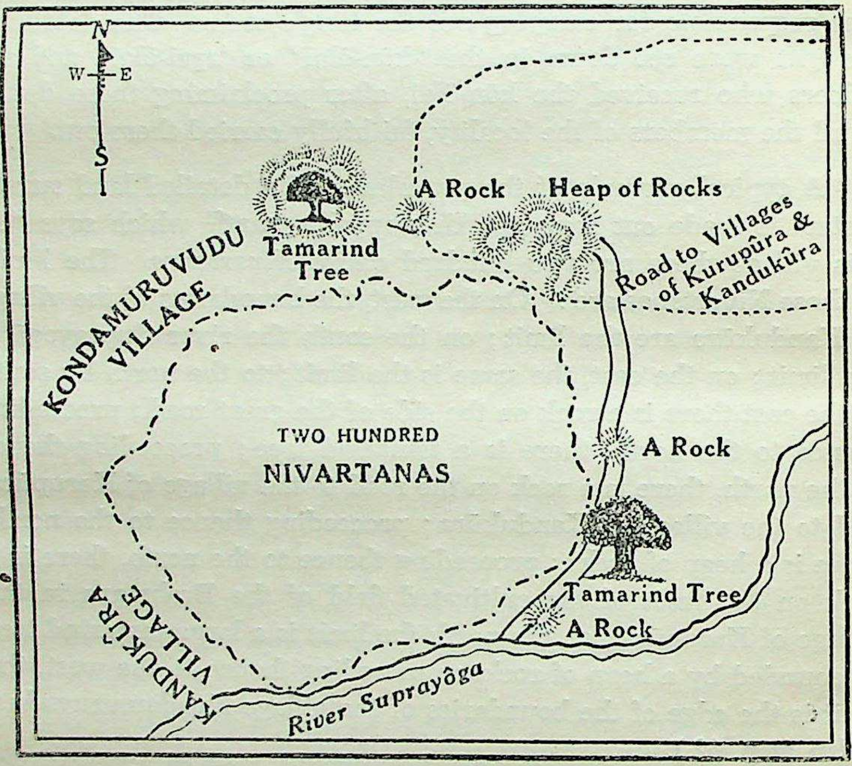
[60] Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, p. 12.
[61] Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 53.
[62] Ep. Indica, Vol. XVIII, pp. 8 & 9.
[63] S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, p. 361.

Vāyilkēḻpār. Dr. Hultzsch corrects Nilakkaḷattār into Nilaikkaḷattār, but his suggested interpretation into 'local authorities' is a little far-fetched. Taking 'Nilai' to mean 'fixing' and 'kalam' to be 'cultivable tracts', we have in the 'Nilaikkaḷattār' those that fix (the boundaries) of the cultivable fields—a kind of survey officers who had to be present when the transference of ownership took place. Or, more simply, *kaḷam* may mean department and *Nilakkaḷattār* officers of the Land-Department.


N
W
E
S
A Rock
Heap of Rocks
Road to Villages of Kurupûra & Kandukûra
Tamarind Tree
KONDAMURUVUDU VILLAGE
TWO HUNDRED
NIVARTANAS
A Rock
Tamarind Tree
A Rock
KANDUKÛRA VILLAGE
River Suprayôga

A DIAGRAMMATIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF THE 200 NIVARTANAS

Fencing of lands.

The demarcation of boundaries of lands and a sort of fencing to enclose the cultivated fields to prevent cattle from destroying the crops, and also to avoid disputes of any kind between the different owners, have always been recognised as necessary factors in any agricultural village. In ancient India, fencing took various forms—boundaries demarcated by shrubs, bamboos, various kinds of creepers and mud walls. The common fencing of fields in the days of the Pallavas was stones and milk-bush; "Kallum kaḷḷiyum nāṭṭi" is a statement found in many of their inscriptions.[64]

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[64] Paṭṭattāḷmangalam and Kaśākuḍi Plates.

HEREDITARY SERVANTS OF THE KING'S PALACE

The goldsmith and his duties.

There was the palace goldsmith who was a hereditary officer. Besides the usual duties of making ornaments and jewels for the palace, he was very often employed in engraving the grants made by the king and others under his patronage on copper-plates. The writer of the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatungavarman informs us of his name and parentage in a Sanskrit verse and also at the end of the Tamil prose part. He calls himself the goldsmith (svarṇakṛt or in Tamil 'taṭṭān') named Nṛpatunga, evidently after his sovereign. From the way he introduces himself, it is clear that he was a hereditary servant attached to the palace. He is said to be the son of Mādēvi Perundaṭṭān and the grandson of Uditōdaya Perundaṭṭān of Kīḻ Pariśāram near Kaccippēḍu (Conjeevaram). The title of his father Mādēvi indicates that he was "the great goldsmith to the chief queen". The name of his grandfather similarly means 'the great goldsmith to King Uditōdaya.' Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar suggests that Uditōdaya or Uditōdita might have been the surname of one of the immediate predecessors of King Nṛpatunga. Since among his many titles, Rājasimha had the biruda Uditōdita, the goldsmith might have been named after this very king; or it may be perhaps, as Mr. Aiyar suggested, that the goldsmith was named after one of the immediate predecessors of Nṛpatungavarman who took the name Uditōdita from Rājasimha.[65]

The Sthapati or Kāṣṭhakāri and his duties.

The Sthapathi, like the palace goldsmith, was also a hereditary servant of the palace. One of his primary duties was to engrave on copper plates, the public charities given under the orders of the sovereign. The Māngadūr grant of Simhavarman is said to have been engraved by one Nēmi at the personal command of the king. (Prabhōssvamukhājñaptyā Nēminā likhitaṃ). Regarding the writer of the Kaśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, Dr. Hultzsch's correction of the noun "Kāṣṭhakārin" into "Kōṣṭhāgārin" and the translation of the word into "treasurer" are both wrong. "Kāṣṭhakāri" is a "carpenter" and "koṣṭhāgāri" is a "store-keeper". These plates were engraved by Śrī Paramēśvara Mahākāṣṭhakāri, i.e., by Śri Paramēśvara, the great carpenter.

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[65] Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, p. 15.

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(" Svasti Śrī Paramēśvara Mahākāṣṭhakāriṇā likhitam ").[66] Since Paramēśvara was also a name of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, this servant of the king is probably named after his sovereign.

The gift of the village of Paṭṭattāḷmangalam in the sixty-first year of the same king Nandivarman II is recorded on copper plates by the engraver Śrī Daṇḍi, son of Viḍēl Viḍugu Pallava Perundaccan of Aimpanaiccēri in Kaccippēḍu.

The period that separates the Kaśākuḍi and the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam plates is nearly forty years; therefore, it is quite likely Śrī Daṇḍi was the son of Śrī Paramēśvara Mahākāṣṭhakāri who is known in the later grants as 'the great carpenter of the Viḍēl Viḍugu Pallava king.' Śrī Daṇḍi might have occupied his father's place in the Palace at the time of the gift of the village of Paṭṭattāḷmangalam.

The gift of the village of Śrī Kaṭṭupaḷḷi in the sixth year of Nandivarman III was inscribed on Copper-plates by Pērayyan who was (as it were) like the moon for the Sthapati family, who was the son of Śiṟṟayya and who had won his fame by his workmanship. (Karakauśala kṛtaryaśasā Śiṟṟayya putrēṇa patra=samghōyam likhitaḥ Pēreyanāmnā sthapati kulavyō=ma=candrēṇa). The Tamil portion of the plates says that they were written by Pērayyan, son of the Kāṣṭhakāri of Aimpanaiccēri in Kaccippēḍu. It is interesting to find that Kāṣṭhakāri and Sthapati are used synonymously.

The Minor Poets of the Court and their duties.

Epigraphy tells us that in the Pallava Court there lived many minor poets who, besides singing the praise of the king daily, were also engaged in drafting the contents of the copper-plate grants and especially the Praśasti of the king which usually formed the preamble to these records.

The Praśasti of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman II was composed by Paramēśvara surnamed Uttarakāraṇika, son of Paramōttara-kāraṇika, who was chosen by the " ~~Muse of Poetry~~ " as her Lord as at a svayamvara.[67] The Praśasti of the Udayēn-

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66. The correction of Dr. Hultzsch stands thus: "Svasti Śrī Paramēśvaramahākōṣṭhāgāriṇā likhitam"—S.I.I., Vol. II, pt. III, p. 353, line 136.

67. Mr. Krishna Sastri's translation of this as " the self-chosen Lord of Poetry " is not satisfactory. The text is: " Paramōttarakāraṇikasyākṛta, kavitāsvayamvṛtavarasya—Uttara-kāraṇikākhyastanayaḥ Paramēśvaraḥ Praśasti mimām "—S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 521, v. 14.

diram plates of the same king was drawn up by the poet Paramēśvara who was the son of the illustrious Candradēva and who was born in the family of Medhāvins: "Putraḥ Śrī Candra Dēvasya kavistu Paramēśvaraḥ | praśastēḥ kavitāñcakrē sa mēdhāvikulōdbhavaḥ".[68] Since both the Udayēndiram and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates record gifts endowed in the same reign and the number of years that separate these two grants is only seven years, it may be presumed that the poet Paramēśvara who composed the Praśasti of the Udayēndiram plates is the same as Paramēśvara surnamed Uttara-kāraṇika of the later grant. In which case, Candradēva, the father of the poet, must be identified with Paramōttara-kāraṇika. It is interesting to find that the name Paramēśvara of the poet is also the name of his sovereign.

Regarding the title Uttarakāraṇika, we may note that the Ājñapti of the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I is one Uttarakāraṇika Mahāsēnadatta. Further, among the several donees of the Udayēndiram grant, the poet who was the author of the Praśasti of the same record gets the allotment of a single share in the village granted. The name of his residence is given as Uttarakākula.[69]

In the name 'Uttarakāraṇika', "Kāraṇika" seems to be not a proper name but the designation of an office. When taken in conjunction with "Paramōttara-kāraṇika" we seem to get hints of a hierarchy of officers. An examination of some North Indian copper-plates prove that the 'Kāraṇika' is an official who figures as the composer or the writer of the contents of these grants.[70] In the Cōḷa inscriptions of South India also, we often find that the Karaṇattān writes out the inscriptions.

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[68] S.I.I., vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 370.

[69] This is what Krishna Sastri comments on "Uttarakākula,": Uttarakākula, i.e., the northern Kākula—This appears to refer to Chicacole in the Ganjam District, as distinguished from the more southern Śrīkākulam in the Kistna District.—S.I.I., Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 373, note 6.

[70] Ep. Ind. Vol. 18, p. 223. The writer is not the engraver. The same grants also mention the engraver. The Don Buzurg plates of Govindacandradēva record that the writing was done by the illustrious Kāraṇika Thakkura Sahādēva. The Chatrapūr Copper plate of Govindacandradēva of Kanauj was written by Kāraṇika Thakkūra Śrīdhara. The editor of these inscriptions, Rai Bahadur Dayārām Sāhni, adds in a foot-note: "the word 'Kāraṇika' means a scribe, i.e., one who has to do with documents (Karaṇa). Mr. Y. R. Gupte has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that certain families among the Candrasēnīya Kāyastha Prabhus (a class of writers in the

In the light of these facts, the term "Uttarakāraṇika" must be taken to denote that that office was above that of the Kāraṇika and that the Paramōttarakāraṇika[71] must have been the chief of all the Kāraṇikas, the head of this class of officers. It seems evident that the office of the Karaṇam, i.e., a village accountant in South India, has its origin in the office "Kāraṇika."

It seems to be a different poet who composed the Praśasti of the Kaśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman II. He is described here as one who was named Trivikrama who is honest and who knows the truth of all the sciences and who has performed sacrifices according to the rules of the Vedas; "Akṛtrimas-trayīvidhikramakratu-pravartakaḥ samasta-śāstratatvavit-praśastikṛt trivikramaḥ".[72]

It was the poet Mahēśvara Manōdhīra the functions of "whose words, thoughts and body were all for the benefit of others" that composed the eulogy of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant of Nandivarman III; "Vāṅ-manaḥ(k)āya karmāṇi parārthānyēva yasya saḥ | Mahēśvaro Manōdhīraḥ praśastim kṛtavānimam".[73]

ARMY

The theoretical division of the army into four parts seems to have been maintained under the Pallavas. They consisted of elephants, horses and footmen. Though there are a few literary references to chariots, we have so far neither direct epigraphical evidence nor scluptural representations of rathas or chariots having been employed in their warfare.

That the Pallava kings took special care to employ war elephants is evidenced by their knowledge of the Gajaśāstra and by the innumerable sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple where we get large numbers of elephants in the panels depicting warfare.[74]

Deccan) to this day bear the surname of Kāraṇika. The Prabhus referred to are supposed to have immigrated from the district of Oudh in the United Provinces." See also Ep. Ind. Vol. 8, pp. 153, 156 and 157. Copper plates of the same king written by Kāraṇika Thakkūra Vivika, Ind. Ant. Vol. 18, p. 20 and Ep. Ind. Vol. 4, pp. 124, 126 et seq.

[71] We have already seen that he was 'chosen by the Muse of Poetry' as her Lord. Therefore, fit enough to occupy the position of a chief Kāraṇika.

[72] S.I.I., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 351.

[73] S.I.I., Vol. II, part V, p. 509.

[74] Rājasimha and Pallava Malla are said to have specialised in the Gajaśāstra. S.I.I., Vol. I Kāñcī Inscription of Rājasimha and the Kaśākuḍi and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Pallava Malla.

In the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I we get a thrilling description of an intensive battle in which the Pallava army faces the strongest of their foes—Cāḷukyas. The details of the battle as narrated in the copper-plate throw light not only on the composition of the army but also on the war implements which the soldiers used. This is supplemented by the sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple where we see soldiers carrying swords, shields, bows, arrows, javelins, clubs, lances and spears.[75]

Stray references to army officers are found in the Pallava copper-plates. Senāpatis or generals of the army are mentioned in the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates. In the Uruvapaḷḷi grant we get the mention of a military officer of Simhavarman by name Viṣṇuvarman. This Viṣṇuvarman was the builder of the temple named Viṣṇuhāradēvakula. In Udayacandra, we have an example of a faithful and efficient Pallava general. It was he who bestowed the kingdom on the young Pallava Malla after defeating all the powerful enemies that rose against the newly elected king.[76]

From the early Pallava copper plates we learn that the army went out of its capital and pitched military camps and conducted warfare against its enemies. Menmatūra and Daśanapura which were located probably in the Telugu districts are called in the grant Vijayaskandhāvāra i.e., the victorious camp.[77]

Certain musical instruments which were used by the Pallava kings in their warfare afford some interest. Two of these are definitely mentioned in several inscriptions. The Kaṭumukhavāditra and the Samudraghōṣa may from their very names be identified as the war trumpet and the war drum.[78]

Considering the military activities of the Pallava kings and their intensive warfare especially with the Cāḷukyas we have to infer that the Pallavas maintained a well organized army.

NAVY

Pallava epigraphy presents no direct information on this subject; however, nautical references lie scattered in a few passages of contemporary literature and a study of the history of colonial expansion under the Pallavas furnishes ample proof of the existence of a well organized fleet under them.

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[75] S.I.I., Vol. I, and my forthcoming memoir on the Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple.

[76] A description of Udayacandra's military exploits is contained in the Udayēndiram grant. S.I.I. vol. II part 3 page 364.

[77] Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, page 161.

[78] The Kēndūr plates of Vikramāditya II. Also see Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription, Gadvāl plates and the literary references in the Periyatirumoḻi and in the Nandikkalambakam.

Sea-Ports

Trade

There is no doubt that Mahāmallapuram was the principal sea-port of the Pallavas. As against the opinion of Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil [79] who suggests that Māmallai probably did not exist before the time of Narasimhavarman I, Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar maintains the view that Māmallapuram was a flourishing sea-port under another name even at the Śangam period, and that the harbour was full of ships carrying horses from western countries and merchandise from northern countries. [80]

Econ

That Māmallapuram was an equally prosperous sea-port in the days of the Pallavas is supported by Tirumangai who speaks of Kalangal̤-iyangum-Mallai-k-kaḍanmallai,—Mallai prosperous on account of the frequent ingress and egress of merchant vessels.[81]

Geo

In the 'Life of Hiuen-Tsiang' by Beal we have the following remarks :—'The city of Kāñcīpura is situated on the mouth (bay) of the Southern sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Simhaḷa, distant from it three days voyage.' The above reference in the life of the Chinese traveller has induced some scholars to describe Kāñcī as a sea-port.[82] This is hard to believe; there is a strong tradition in South India that in ancient days Kāñcī and Māmallapuram were connected by a long canal.

The grant of the village of Paṭṭattāḷmangalam[83] in the Negapatam taluq in the time of Pallava Malla supports the fact that Nāgapaṭṭinam was included within the Pallava kingdom. It is likely that this place (Negapatam) was also an active sea-port then. This gains support from the following:—"In the year 720 A.D. the 9th month, the king of South India Che-li-na-lo-seng-kia-pas-to-pa (Sri Narasimha Potavarman) constructed a temple in favour of the empire (i.e., of China): he addressed to the emperor a request asking from him an inscription giving a name to this temple; by decree, it was decided that the name should be 'which caused return to virtue' (which makes a return to virtue) (*Koei hoa*) and it was presented i.e., to say the emperor sent Narasimha a placard or tablet with the inscription *Koei hoa se,* so that it might be placed on the front of the temple erected in India by Narasimha for the benefit of China ".[84]

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[79] *Pallava Antiquities.*

[80] *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras* 1928, p. 152.

[81] *Periyatirumoḻi*, II-VI-6.

[82] Watters: *Yuaṇ Chwang*, p. 227., Chhabra: *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*, p. 5., Cunningham: *Ancient Geography*, p. 738.

[83] Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 119. The village of Paṭṭamangalam may be identified with Paṭṭattaḷmangalam.

The above passage yields three inferences, namely, that the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II alias Rājasimha must have constructed a shrine for the worship of merchants and pilgrims arriving from China into his territory; secondly, that this shrine must have been dedicated to Buddha as the Chinese were Buddhists, and thirdly, he must have constructed it either at Māmallapuram or at Kāñcī or at a place where they alighted on their arrival from China.

So far there is nothing to indicate that there existed any Chinese Buddhist Vihāra either at Māmallapuram or at Kāñcī. But we know that a famous ruined Buddhist Vihāra at Negapatam was popularly known as China-pagoda, and Yule observes in his Marco Polo[85] that the same Vihāra was also known as the tower of the Malla. This is not all. The famous Kalyāṇi inscription[86] from Burma contains the following facts. 'The Thēras and Chitradūta, however, travelled on foot to Nāgapaṭṭana, and there visited the site of the Padarikārāma monastery, and worshipped the image of Buddha in a cave, constructed by command of the Mahārājā of Cīnadēśa on the spot, on the sea shore etc.'

The building of a Vihāra in honour of the Chinese emperor, the reference to the tower of Malla and perhaps to a Vihāra in the form of a cave all do indicate its Pallava origin, and we may safely infer that the Cīna-pagoda at Negapatam was the one that was built by Narasimhavarman II.

Thus Negapatam must have served as a sea-port for communication with China as also Māmallapuram.

Naval Expeditions.

According to the Kaśākuḍi plates Simhaviṣṇu, the father of Mahēndravarman, is said to have completely vanquished the Simhaḷa king (Ceylon King) who was proud of the strength of his

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[84] Chavannes, Notes, etc., *Toung Pao* II, Vol. 5. p. 44. N. 3.
[85] Yule. *Marco Polo,* Vol. II. Bk. 3, p. 336.
[86] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 45.

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arms.[87] The two successive navál expeditions sent by Narasimhavarman I with a view to help Mānavamma are not only described in the *Mahāvamsa* but also get confirmation in Pallava epigraphy.[88] As suggested elsewhere, it is likely that Nṛpatunga allied himself with the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Māra in the latter's expedition against Ceylon. This shows that the Pallava fleet was so strong that the Pāṇḍya found it useful to secure the help of the Pallava king.[89]

In the Vāyalūr Pillar inscription there seems to be an indirect reference to Rājasimha's conquest of the Laccadive Islands.[90]

Commercial and Colonial Expansion.

Copious are our evidences indicating the commercial enterprises and colonial expansion of the Pallavas in the Far East.[91] The existence of a well manned fleet for purposes of commerce as well as the presence of organised guilds trading in the Far-East are supported by the *Nandikkalambakam* and the Takua-pa Inscription.[92]

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87. S.I.I., Vol. II, part V, p. 356.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 13.
90. *Ibid.* p. 152 and N.
91. Chatterji : *History of Cambodia.* Majumdar : *History of Champa ; Suvarṇadvīpa.* Chhabra : *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule* (J.A.S.B. 1935, Vol. I, No. 1, Winstedt : *A History of Malaya.*).
92. *The Ṭakua-pa (Siam) Tamil Inscription*—K. A. N. Sastri.

CHAPTER V

REVENUE AND TAXATION.

The revenue of the state consisted of several items of taxation and dues paid to the central Government. Names of taxes are mentioned in a number of inscriptions which record gifts of lands or villages to brahmins and to Śiva or Viṣṇu temples.

When a village was endowed and stated to be tax free it did not mean that the village or the inhabitants of the village were freed from the payment of taxes, but what it meant was that the income which till the time of the grant replenished the treasury of the king ceased to go to him, but was directed towards the donee specified in the grant.

The burdens of taxation are specified both in the early charters of the Pallavas and in the later grants. Regarding revenue from agricultural lands, we have no definite statement as to the share due to the king. We come across references to 'iṟai' in general. Other items of revenue will be understood by a detailed study of the items of Parihāras recorded in the various grants.

The manufacture of salt, a monopoly of the State.

The Prākṛt term alōṇagulachchōbham appearing among the parihāras in early Prākṛt charters of the Pallavas has led scholars to conclude that salt manufacture was exclusively confined to the State. Dr. Bühler, while editing the Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates, interpreted the term as "free from troubles about salt" and added in his foot-note that 'digging for salt was a royal monopoly'. (Prākṛt alōṇagulachchōbham—Sanskrit alavaṇa guḍakṣōbham).

Some of the Karle inscriptions of the Āndhra kings which mention similar parihāras (of land gifts made to the Buddhists and Buddhist Sanghas) include "alōṇakhadaka" among the several items. Senart's comment on this privilege is as follows:—"For 'alōṇakhādaka' the later inscriptions offer several equivalents—alavanakreṇikhanaka, which Bühler (p. 104) has already quoted (Dr. Fleet's No. 55, I. 28 and No. 56) ; alōṇagulachchōbha in 1.32 of the plates of Śivaskandavarman".[1]

The parihāra "alōṇagulachchōbha" corresponds to the 'uppukkōcceygai' of the Tamil portions of the later inscriptions of the

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[1] Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 67.

Pallavas. Krishna Śāstri says that this word may be divided into uppu, ko and śeygai which perhaps means the royalty paid for manufacturing salt. In the light of the former interpretation, this seems different. We can interpret the term as 'uppu'—salt, 'kō'—king or royalty 'śeygai'—manufacture, and take it as meaning 'royal manufacture of salt' which leads us to the conclusion that salt manufacture was a monopoly of the state..

Besides salt, sugar was also manufactured by the state according to the statement contained in the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates.[2]

Aparamparābalivadam.

Aparamparābalivadam—This is the reading of the term in the Mayidavōlu grant; and in the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates, we have "Aparamparābalivaddagahanam." Dr. Hultzsch's translation is "free from (the supply of) bullocks in succession" and that of Bühler is the same, but he adds in his foot-note "I suppose this refers to the obligation of furnishing by turns draught-cattle for the progress of the royal officers." Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar seems to adopt Bühler's explanation of this term and says "Aparamparābalivardakam" is "the necessity to supply bullocks in relief for the travellers, official and other, which is one of the incidences of village life, and continues even now".[3] This parihāra is the same as the one mentioned in the Tamil portions of the later Pallava Grants as Nallerudu (good bull). It does not seem to be that the supply of the good bull could be for any other purpose than the one mentioned above.

Īḻampūṭci.

This is found in all the later Pallava grants. It is a combination of the two words 'īḻam' and 'pūṭci', 'īḻam' standing for 'īḻavar.' Thus it is a 'pūṭci' on the īḻavars, namely the professional toddy drawers. It is at once evident that 'īḻampūṭci' is a tax or duty on the professional toddy drawers. This meaning of the term has been accepted and the explanation seems to be quite in order.

In spite of the positive explanation that has been offered and accepted, the origin of the word 'pūṭci' remains obscure.[4] The meaning of the word "pūṭci" according to the Tamil dictionary is 'body' or 'act of wearing,' the latter of these two meanings being derived from the root 'pūṇ' meaning 'to wear'.

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[2] Ep. Ind. Vol. I, page 6.

[3] *Hindu Administrative Institutions in S. India,* p. 93.

[4] See, however, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.* p. 116.

Taking the root 'pūṇ', we can easily see that 'pūṭci' is the derived term which signifies 'that which is worn.' 'Pūṭci' is therefore, a tax or duty imposed on or undertaken by a particular profession, in this case, the 'īḻavar.'

Iḍaipūṭci :

This term also appears in all the Pallava grants and occurs wherever 'īḻampūṭchi' is found. Adopting the above explanation for 'pūṭci' we may say that this is a duty imposed on or undertaken by "iḍaiyars" or cattle-breeders.[5]

Brāhmaṇarāśakkāṇam.

In the Kaśākuḍi Plates, the 'rā' has been obliterated after the 'Brāhmaṇa' and is hence not distinct or legible in the facsimile produced. Hultzsch has included 'rā' within brackets. Hultzsch interprets the term as "the share (kāṇam) of the Brāhmins and of the king." He has split the word into 'Brāhmaṇar' and 'rāśakkāṇam'.

K. V. S. Aiyar explains the terms as "tax of (one) kāṇam on the profits of the Brāhmins." He splits the word into 'Brāhmaṇa' and 'āśakkāṇam'.[6] What exactly are the profits of the Brahmins and wherefrom such profits are derived, K. V. S. Aiyar does not indicate. He further presumes that the term 'Brahmins' encompasses all Brahmins by virtue of their caste by birth.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar follows the splitting of the word made by Hultzsch and explains that the term means "cash that is payable for the Brahman and for the king." He does not attempt an elucidation as to by whom this 'cash' is payable, and to which section of the Brahmins and why.[7]

Without hesitation we may accept the splitting of the word into 'Brāhmaṇar' and 'rāśakkāṇam.' Instead of taking this term to mean 'cash or fee payable for the Brāhman and for the king' we may easily understand it to mean 'cash or fee payable by the Brāhmin to the king'. It is only proper to signify a particular fee by a qualifying denomination characterising the nature of the fee and the parties concerned. This compound word comprises the indication both of the payer and the payee and the final part denotes that it is a fee paid. Now, therefore, the entire term is self-contained and self-explanatory.

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[5] Cf. 'Iḍaipāṭṭam' of the Cōḷa inscriptions.

[6] *Ancient Deccan*, p. 344.

[7] *Hind. Ad. Inst. in S. India*, p. 121.

We have to further analyse the term 'Brāhmaṇar' in the light of the context and restrict the term to apply to that section of the Brāhmaṇar which was obliged to pay a fee. This section can possibly be no other than those Brāhmaṇar who follow a profession on the ground of their being Brāhmaṇar. It is at once clear that it is only the priests that come within this fold. The Brāhmin priests, as now, earned their livelihood from their profession as such. Their earnings were therefore, governed and estimated by the controlling body for all other professions, namely, the state. Therefore, 'Brāhmaṇarāśakkāṇam' can be taken to mean "tax payable by the Brahmins (priests) to the king".

Kallāṇakkāṇam.

In the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates, we have Kaṇṇāḻakkāṇam[8] which is written as 'Kallāṇakkāṇam' in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant.[9] 'Kallāṇa' and 'Kaṇṇāḻa' are the Tamil forms of the Sanskrit word 'Kalyāṇa' and the incidence evidently involved a small payment of money (Kāṇam) to the king on the occasion of the performance of a marriage. Kallāṇakkāṇam indeed reminds us of one of the feudal aids of the Middle Ages in England.

We are familiar with the term 'Kallāṇakkāṇam' in the days of the Cōḷas. It is not clear under what conditions and in what manner this 'Kallāṇakkāṇam' was levied on the people in the days of the Pallavas and in the early Cōḷa period. Gopinatha Rao, however, suggests an explanation. He says: "I believe it must correspond to certain kāṇikkai (kāṭci as it is termed) which is generally taken to the jenmis by their tenants sometime before a marriage to obtain his permission, blessing and bhakshish; in those days also people would have taken a nazar of a Kāṇam of gold to the representative of the king and paid it as a Kāṇikkai (kāṭci)".[10]

In the later Pallava and early Cōḷa days, this 'Kallāṇakkāṇam' appears to have been obligatory, while originally the payment of this Kāṇam must have been purely voluntary. Even to this day the custom prevails and the headman of the village collects from the principal parties in charge of the performance of a marriage, a small tax known as 'Rāja Sambhāvanā'.

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[8] S.I.I. II, page 520, Plate III-a, line 31.

[9] *ib.* page 509, Plate IV-b, line 55.

[10] Anbil Plates of Sundara Cōḷa—Ep. Ind. Vol. XV, p. 71.

Kuśakkāṇam.

This may be split into 'Kuyavan' and 'Kāṇam' that is the money contribution paid to the king by the potter or potters of the village. It must have been a proportion of their income derived out of their profession as potters.[11]

Taṭṭukkāyam.

The Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates read it as "taṭṭukkāyam" while in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant it reads "taṭṭu kāyam". The former seems to be the correct form and has been rightly compared by Krishna Śāstri with Taṭṭār-pāṭṭam of the large Leyden plates and translated as "a fee on goldsmith".[12]

If, as pointed out by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,[13] the taṭṭukkāyam should be split into taṭṭukku and āyam, meaning thereby "a tax on hammering," then we have no hesitation in accepting that taṭṭukkāyam of the Pallava inscriptions and Taṭṭār-paṭṭam of the Cōḷa epigraphy are synonymous terms. Additional strength is gained by the fact that there is no mention made of Taṭṭār-pāṭṭam in Pallava grants as a separate tax distinct from 'Taṭṭukkāyam'. In the context, taṭṭukkāyam is interpreted as a professional tax on goldsmiths and this seems to be most convincing.

Viśakkāṇam.

This should be taken to be Viyavan and Kāṇam, or, what is due to the viyavan or the village headman. The office of viyavan was hereditary; and as it involved duties of supreme importance belonging to the village administration, the viyavan was entitled to a certain remuneration from the village Government. This office was of very great antiquity in its origin and was therefore held in esteem. Every member of the village was liable to pay a small fee for the maintenance of the viyavan who held office and discharged his duties in the interests of the village people. The viyavan was vested with power to impose and collect fines and other penalties for offences or transgressions of the current laws of the country. These collections naturally went in the first instance to the viyavan. All collections, as a matter of course, were due to the state treasury, and the king had the discretion to allocate the collections as was proper. This viyavan kāṇam which comprised the collection from the people for the remuneration of the viyavan, was also payable to the king's treasury. But the king directed that, along with the other privileges bestowed on the donee of the village, the viyavan kāṇam also be passed on to the donee as part of the bhōga.

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[11] S.I.I., Vol. II, part v, p. 530, & part iii, p. 352, line 124.

[12] S.I.I., Vol. II, part v, p. 530; note 4.

[13] *Hindu Ad. Inst.* p. 116.

Pāraikkāṇam

"A tax on quarries" is the interpretation given by Krishna Śāstri to this term.[14] If we accept this interpretation, the exact nature of the due in money is not quite clear. It seems more fitting to take 'Pāṟaikkāṇam' to be a levy on the washermen as a class or on those washermen who utilise the water from the public tanks and make use of the stones placed on the public land. This practice is still in vogue in South India.

This latter interpretation is based on two points:

(1) 'Pāṟaikkāṇam' may stand synonymous with Vaṇṇārappāṟai of the Cōḷa inscriptions, interpreted by K. V. S. Aiyar as a tax on the washerman's stone.

(2) This comparison of Pāṟaikkāṇam with Vaṇṇārappāṟai is in keeping with the other terms occurring alongside of it in the inscription, namely Kuśakkāṇam and Paṭṭinaśēri.

Puttagavilai.

Hultzsch interprets this as "the price of cloth" and K. V. S. Aiyar takes it to mean "fees levied on sellers of cloths". The latter interpretation seems more likely to be appropriate, if the term 'puttagam' is taken to mean 'cloth'.

We may, however, consider another meaning of the term 'puttagam' which is 'tent' (kūḍāram). In this case, we may look upon 'Puttagavilai' as a tax levied on tents or a rent payable to the government. This may apply not only to officers who moved about and occasionally pitched their tents on the village maidān, but also to those nomads who roamed from place to place, sheltering themselves under tents fixed at various places during their temporary stay.

Paṭṭigai Kāṇam.

This has been rendered by Hultzsch into "share of the cloth," which does not entirely bring out the significance of the term. Since 'Kāṇam' is mentioned in the context, it must be understood either as a toll at a ferry (Paṭṭikai-Boat ; dhoni)[15] or as a tax on ferrymen. The former will correspond to Taradeya of the *Artha-śāstra* and Tarika or Targa of the Smṛtis ;[16] and the latter will correspond to the ōḍakkūli of the Cōḷas.

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[14] S.I.I., Vol. II, part v, p. 512.

Taragu.

This term is found almost in all the plates. It has been generally interpreted as 'brokerage' while Krishna Śāstri explains it as 'a brokerage fee.' It is definitely more appropriate to take the latter explanation. Taragu was a fee levied on middlemen of all trades and a specified percentage was to be paid from out of the profits made by the brokers.

Śekku.

This term, which appears in all the plates, has been explained as a duty on oil presses. It may be understood to be a kind of licence fee to fix and run an oil press, besides being a duty on the oil produced. Perhaps, this duty was paid in the form of a certain measure of oil manufactured. We find that Brahmadēya villages enjoyed the running of oil press as a special privilege granted by the king. It is therefore self-evident that it was not all villages that could put up oil presses ; and those that wished to do so had to make a payment towards a licence-fee.

Taṟi

Weaving was one of the chief village industries. The Taṇḍantoṭṭam and the Kaśākuḍi Plates mention "Taṟi" while the Vēḷūrpaḷaiyam Grant refers to "Taṟikkūṟai." In the former we have to understand the term as denoting a tax or charge on weavers. The latter is more definite in that it gives us an idea as to the exact nature and measure of the tax levied. It is apparently equivalent to one standard measure of cloth for each loom. 'Kūṟai' means 'woven cloth.' This tax is therefore, a professional tax and is to be considered as distinct from the trade tax 'puttagavilai' which we have interpreted as 'tax on the sellers of cloths.'

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[15] *Tamil Lexicon*—p. 2424.

[16] Manu—VIII, 407. "A woman more than two months advanced in pregnancy, a (religious) wanderer, a sage, Brāhmans, should not be made to pay toll at a ferry."

"Garbhiṇī tu dvimāsādis-tathā Pravrajitō muniḥ
Brāhmaṇā linginaiścaiva na dāpyāstārikam tarē."

Paḍāmkaḻi.

This splits into 'paḍām' and 'kaḻi.' Paḍām means cloth and kaḻi means 'spool of spun cotton thread.' Thus this was a professional tax on the spinners; and the tax was paid in the form of cotton thread.

Vaṭṭi-Nāḻi.

K. V. S. Aiyar explains: "Vaṭṭi is a big basket which could hold 6 kuṟuṇi or 48 measures of grain and one nāḻi paid for selling such a quantity cannot be considered heavy." This seems to be the most convincing explanation and we may readily adopt it.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar splits the word into 'vaṭṭil' (basket ?) and 'nāḻi.'

Pudānāḻi.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's interpretation of this is as follows[17]:—

"This term breaks into Pudā or Pudām, and Nāḻi. Again ⅛ of a measure of grain on something that is newly made. The Epigraphist points out that the corresponding term in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates is Pudāri and in the Leyden grant Piṭānāri. Of these two, in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam Plates, the term seems to be Pudānāṟi, in which the 'n' is dropped out; and the other seems again to be 'ṟ' mistaken for 'a'. The term, therefore, would resolve into Pudānāḻi. That is the eighth of a measure on new made grain."

Assuming the possible omission, 'Pudānāḻi' may be split into 'Pudā' and 'Nāḻi.' The term occurs in conjunction with Vaṭṭināḻi; and Vaṭṭināḻi has been interpreted to mean "a tax of one Nāḻi on a Vaṭṭi (6 kuṟuṇis)". An exactly similar interpretation applies to 'Pudānāḻi'. 'Pudā' means a measure of 4 Nāḻis (?) or 'Marakkāl',[18] and we may readily explain 'Pudānāḻi' to mean 'a nāḻi for one Pudā or marakkāl'.

Now, the very distinction in their respective appellations signifies that the two terms applied to different groups of articles taxed at the different rates mentioned.

Ūḍu-Pōkku.

It is only in the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam and the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grants that mention is made of Ūḍu-Pōkku. Neither Hultzsch nor any of the other authors who have dealt with the Parihāras has given an interpretation of this term.[19] The phrase is to be considered a term of taxation. The best interpretation seems to be that this term referred to a tax in the form of a mixture of grains. 'Ūḍu,' can be taken to mean 'mixed':[20] especially with reference to grains; and 'Pōkku' may be taken to mean 'grains.' An exact meaning of 'Pōkku' is 'unripe grain' and in this context we are justified in interpreting the term as 'new reaped grain,' unsifted, unpicked and fresh from harvest.

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[17] *Hindu Administrative Institutions.*—p. 118.

[18] *Tamil Dictionary* (P. Ramanathan's) p. 984.

Paṭṭinaśēri.

Krishna Śāstri splits this term into 'Paṭṭina' and 'Śēri,' but does not bring out the significance of the parihāra. Paṭṭinaśeri is synonymous with Paṭṭinavarśēri and means 'Hamlet of fishermen,' for Paṭṭinavar means 'fishermen dwelling in a maritime town'.[21] Paṭṭinaśēri will, therefore, convey the meaning 'all dues payable by the fishermen to the king.'

The significance of this term is borne out by the fact that the Vēḷūrpāḷaiyam plates alone mention this parihāra. This plate records the grant of Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, a village 12 miles to the north of Ennore, near the sea-coast. The Śeri attached to the village must have evidently been occupied by fishermen, the nature of whose profession and trade demanded a contract with the authorities. Since the right of the fishery was sold for a definite sum payable to the king, it was consequently made payable to the donee —in this case, the temple.

Tirumukkāṇam.

This has been read as 'tirumukhakkāṇam' and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar remarks: "Kāṇam again here is cash or fee on Tirumukham, royal letter; probably a cash payment had to be made for bringing the royal writ as a sort of postage or conveyance charge." This is a very convincing interpretation.

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[19] S.I.I., Vol. II, part v, p. 505. Also see K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Deccan*—p. 344.

[20] *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 493. We do not get the meaning for 'Ūḍu' as an individual word to fit in with the context. 'Ūḍu-sāgupaḍi' is given to mean 'cultivation of mixture of grains.' Therefore, the best interpretation that may be offered for 'Ūḍu' may be taken to be 'mixed.'

[21] *Śilappadikāram*, 525—Commentary.

Pattūr Śāṟṟu.

This term is found in the Kaśākuḍi Plates and is left untranslated by Hultzsch. Pattūr Śāttu or Śāṟṟu vari[22] may mean "the tax on toddy-yielding[23] trees of Pattūr," which probably contained large groves of palms. Pattūr was perhaps a hamlet of the village which was endowed to the Brahmin donee. Now, the difference between Panampāgu[24] which is the same as Panañjāṟu, and Śāṟṟu vari is that the former stands for a tax on toddy-yielding trees in general, while the latter is a tax on sweet toddy drawn from palm-trees by coating the receptacles with lime.

U̱laiyavappaḻḻivattu.

This Parihāra, as already suggested by Hultzsch is an obscure term,[25] and is referred to only in the Kaśākuḍi plates immediately after "Pattūr Śāṟṟu." Hultzsch, however, thinks that U̱laiyavappaḻḻivattu is a compound of two words; "U̱laiya-van" which means a servant, and "Paḻḻi" which stands for a temple. But Hultzsch has left the term "Vattu" out of consideration. If we are to adhere to the above interpretation, the term would signify a tax in kind due to the king from the servants of the temple of the village granted under the Parihāra. (Vattu should be taken to stand for *Vastu* which means "moveable property".)

On the other hand, it may be that U̱laiyavapaḻḻi[26] was a hamlet of the main village which was granted, and the yield of the hamlet being made up of various articles, the general term 'Vastu' was applied. In the context, this term must have included a proportion of all kinds of income from the hamlet, which was the legitimate share of the king.

Nāṭṭuvagai.

It has been considered that 'Nāṭṭuvagai'[27] means 'settlement duties'.[28] This, as it stands, is not very explicit. Vagai, according to the Tamil, dictionaries, is 'a part or portion' and Nāṭṭuvagai has, therefore, to be taken to indicate simply that portion of the share from the village due to the Nāḍu which had the right of demand as an administrative authority and which is larger than the village.

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[22] S.I.I., Vol. II, part iii, p. 353, line 129.

[23] *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 1362.

[24] Panampākku for Panampāgu in the inscription is a scribal error, line 128.

[25] S.I.I., Vol. II, part iii, p. 361, note 3.

[26] Examples of names of villages in the South ending in Paḻḻi; may be cited: cf. Tirucirāpaḻḻi; Mahēndrapaḻḻi; Tirukāṭṭupaḻḻi, etc.

[27] Kaśākuḍi Plate—S.I.I., Vol. 2, part 3, p. 352, line 127.

[28] K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Deccan*—p. 344.

Ney-vilai.

Hultzsch takes it to mean "the price of ghee" while K. V. S. Aiyar interprets the term as "ghee-sellers' fee." Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar evidently accepts the latter's interpretation and calls it "a new due upon the selling of ghee." It appears reasonable that there was a tax imposed on the selling of ghee. It is rather open to speculation why ghee alone should be made a taxable commodity. Perhaps, it was considered to be an article of luxury and a nominal tax was, therefore, levied on the sellers of and traders in ghee.

Another interpretation, however, seems to offer itself. The term may have reference to a compounded fee payable to the king in lieu of ghee once supplied in kind to the palace. The *Śilappadikāram* would support such a view.[29]

Kattikkāṇam.

Mention is made of this term in the Kūram grant.[30] The word breaks into Katti and Kāṇam. Thus split up, it means "a tax on weapons like swords, knives, etc., or arms in general".[31] This interpretation evidently implies that the tax was levied on those who possessed arms. In that case, it must be understood to be a licence fee corresponding to the present day licence fee imposed for being in possession of fire-arms, revolver, gun, etc.

On the other hand, appearing as it does among a group of other professional taxes, "kattikkāṇam" may perhaps mean a kind of tax imposed on a particular profession. We have had "kuśakkāṇam," a tax on the potters, and "taṭṭukkāṇam" which has been interpreted as a tax on the goldsmiths. While these taxes point to a professional levy on the people engaged in the respective professions, it is but natural that kattikkāṇam should also be grouped along with them as referring to a tax or fee imposed on the profession which it indicates. We may thus take the term to mean "a tax or fee imposed on the profession which manufactured or produced swords, knives, or other arms." It will thus mean a tax on the blacksmiths.

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[29] Canto. 17 line 7 and *Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, p. 34.

[30] S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 155.

[31] *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 708.

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Neḍumbaṟai.

In the facsimile of the Kaśākuḍi grant the reading is 'Neḍumbuṟe' which Hultzsch has corrected into 'Neḍumbuṟai' but has not interpreted. However, K. V. S. Aiyar[32] has understood it to be Neḍumbaṟai' and has offered the meaning "tax on those for whom big drums are beaten." Since 'Neḍumbuṟai' conveys no possible sense, we may admit K. V. S. Aiyar's reading 'Neḍumbaṟai' as the correct one. Still it is doubtful if the interpretation of it as "a tax on those for whom drums are beaten" is plausible. On the other hand it seems to be rightly in keeping with the context if it is to be taken as a professional tax on the drummers of the village.

Eccōṟu (and Śōṟumāṭṭu).

This seems to have been a tax or cess connected with agricultural lands of the village. In two of Nṛpatunga's inscriptions[33] we meet with this term and in both the cases the endowed lands were exempted from the incidence. "Eccōṟu" breaks itself into "El" and "śōṟu",[34] *i.e.,* "El" meaning "A day of twenty-four hours" and "śōṟu" standing for "boiled rice." Evidently, the incidence involved the maintenance of a person or persons entrusted with the collection of the Government dues from agricultural lands. The most relevant interpretation of "Eccōṟu" would be, that the land owners of the village had to maintain the officers who came to collect the taxes. In other words, the daily batta of the officers was provided by the party concerned within the village. This interpretation is borne out by the fact that in more than one inscription of the later Pallava kings we read of the practice of providing "śōṟu" or food for those who came to collect the interest in money from the Sabhā which was responsible for depositing on permanent interest, the money that was given away as gift to temples. This is explained by the statement "Poliyūṭṭuppon kaḍaikūṭṭavandārkku niśadi iraṇḍu śōṟu koḍuppōmanōm".[35]

It may be noted that śōṟumāṭṭam which occurs in the inscriptions of Kampavarman[36] and in the early Cōḷa inscriptions[37] is a synonymous term with "Eccōṟu". "Māṭṭu" is evidently used in the sense of "to fasten on to" or "to fix on oneself" the duty of providing food. Thus it has the force of compulsory feeding of those who came to collect the land tax or iṟai.

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[32] *Ancient Deccan,* p. 344.
[33] Kaṇḍiyūr Inscriptions of Nṛpatungavarman: and 84 of 1892.
[34] Ellis—*Mirāśi Right*—p. 87.
[35] 161, 163, 190 of 1912.
[36] 84 of 1898—S.I.I., Vol. VI, p. 170.
[37] 17 of 1893.

Manṟupāḍu.

More than one Pallava grant mentions this parihāra and it is noticed also in the early Cōḷa epigraphy. According to Gopinatha Rao, 'Manṟupāḍu' is a compound made up of 'manṟu', "a place of justice, a court house," cf. the phrase 'manṟāḍuvadu,' which means 'pleading before a court of justice,' and pāḍu,' which is a noun form of 'paḍu,' 'fall,' 'accrue,' etc. Manṟupāḍu, therefore means "what accrues from places of justice by way of fine, confiscation," etc.[38] This interpretation seems to be convincing.

The various parihāras detailed above give us an idea of the different items of revenue to which the king had a claim.

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[38] Ep. Ind. XV; page 71.

CHAPTER VI

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

As several of the Pallava inscriptions relate to gifts of land, gold and other articles of produce, a scrutiny of these records reveals to us a number of weights and measures that were current in the country. Many of these were in use during the Cōḷa and later periods of South Indian History and others are still in vogue in the southern Tamil Districts.

Land Measure.

The Prākṛt and early Sanskrit inscriptions mention, extents of land measured by the 'plough' 'Nivartana' or 'Paṭṭikā.' Originally, a plough of land seems to have been so much of land as was cultivated by a man with a plough and two bullocks within a given time. Later on this 'plough of land' appears to have been standardised and used as a unit of land measure. In the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates[1] where we have the statement 'halaśata-sahasra,' that is 'one hundred thousand ox-ploughs' (of land), we cannot fail to understand 'hala'* in the sense of a unit of land measure.[2]

The term 'Nivartana' literally means 'a turning back' and probably in the very early days, lands were measured by an individual starting from a particular point and after going round the field, returning to the starting point within a certain time, thus marking the exact boundary of the field covered during the course of the round.[3] As the land covered during the 'Nivartana' varied, in proportion to the swiftness of the person walking round, some fixed unit seems to have been invented later on, to define a

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[1] Ep. Ind. Vol. I, page 6, line 11.

*A Note on 'Hala' etc., is added at the end of this chapter.

[2] Manu explains: "Now (a lord) over ten (towns) should enjoy two ploughs of land, and (a lord) over twenty (towns) ten ploughs of land; the superintendent of a hundred towns, a town; the lord of a thousand, a city." Kullūka interprets 'Kula' as 'as much of land as can be turned by a plough drawn by a six-head of cattle'—Manu, ch. VII, v. 119.

[3] A similar custom of measuring lands seems to have prevailed in Russia. The Bashkeers were in the habit of selling lands by the day, i.e., as much of land as a man can go round on his feet in a day. cf. "Twenty-three Tales," Tolstoy, p. 219.

'Nivartana.' Though we know that a Nivartana usually consisted of 20 rods or 200 cubits or 40,000 "hastas"—square of land, the Pallava inscriptions do not denote the exact measurement of the area contained in 'Nivartana'.[4] The Arthāśāstra[5] defines a Nivartana as three rajjus.[6]

Now the Cēndalūr plates mention Paṭṭikā as a unit of land measure[7] and it is likely that Paṭṭikā is a Sanskrit term for the measure 'Paṭṭi' found in the Tamil inscriptions of the Pallavas. Originally, like the 'Nivartana,' Paṭṭi was also a vague unit, as it meant a piece of land sufficient for a sheep-fold (Paṭṭi—a sheep-fold). It is interesting to establish from the evidence of the Kaśākuḍi plates that Nivartana and Paṭṭi are synonymous terms. It is clear that "Sāmānya nivartanadvayamaryādayā"[8] occurring in the Sanskrit portion of the plates is a literal translation of "Sāmānya iraṇḍu paṭṭippaḍiyāl"[9] of the Tamil portion of the same grant.

Besides the Nivartana or Paṭṭikā or Paṭṭi, lands were denoted by the name Pāḍagam in the Tamil inscriptions.[10] In the Taṇḍantōṭṭm Plates the names of a few donees are designated by "Pāḍagam",[11] such as Pāḍagam Mātṛbhūti Ṣaḍaṅgavit Sōmayājin, Pāḍagam Śvāmidēva Saḍaṅgavit, Pāḍagam Rudra Nandi Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājin, etc.

Krishna Śāstri thinks that these Pāḍagams are names of villages.[12] Since Pāḍagam precedes the names of more than one donee in this grant, it is to be understood as a general name for a village and same as Pāṟu, Paṟṟu or Pāḍu commonly found as an ending of village names.[13] It is thus evident that these particular donees were owners of villages.

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[4] The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi Plates mention Nivatanas (Nivartanas) of land. The Uruvapaḷḷi Plates mention 200 Nivartanas and the British Museum Plates four Nivartanas, but in none of these is a Nivartana specifically defined.

[5] Arthaśāstra—Book II, ch. 20.

[6] On Rajju Ghosal remarks: "In its non-technical sense the term 'rajju' is a general land measure consisting of ten *daṇḍas*, each *daṇḍa* ordinarily comprising four *aratnis* (otherwise called "Prajapati's hand") i.e., 96 digits.—*Hindu Revenue System*—p. 53.

[7] Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 235, II. 17 & 18 "Aṣṭaśata—Paṭṭikā."

[8] S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, line 100.

[9] *Ibid*, line 107.

[10] Nos. 3, 5, 11, 31, 72 & 80 of 1898.

[11] S.I.I., Vol. II, part V, pp. 519, 531, 532, 534 & 535.

[12] S.I.I., Vol. II, part V, p. 562.

[13] S.I.I., Vol. II, part V, p. 519.

From other inscriptions we learn that a Pāḍagam is used in the sense of a plot of cultivable land—"Paramēśvaravadiyin Kīḻkkūṟin teṟkku ērikkāga vaitta aindu Pāḍagamum".[14] Later on from Kampavarman's inscriptions we obtain the measurement of a Pāḍagam as 240 kuḻis of land—"engaḷ Pāḍagam irunūṟṟu nārpadu kuḻiyālum";[15] "Pāḍagam onṟināl irunūṟṟu nārpadu kuḻiyumāga nālu Pāḍagattālumāgattoḷḷāyirattaṟupadu kuḻiyum."[16]

Vēli[17] and Kuḻi were the most common land measures. Vēli probably has its origin in a man's fencing or putting up a "vēli" round his field. Kuḻi is a unit of square varying with different times and districts, from 144 square feet to 576 square feet. From an inscription of Nṛpatungavarman,[18] we get the information that a kuḻi at that time consisted of 81 square feet. It is said that 27,000 kuḻis of land were divided among various people, each square being measured by a twelve-Śāṇ rod. Therefore, it should have been that a kuḻi measured 81 square feet $(12 \times 9'')^2 = 81$ square feet.

That in measuring lands, kōls or rods of different sizes were used is evidenced by the mention of Nālu Śāṇ kōl,[19] Panniru-Śāṇ kōl[20] and Padināṟu-Śāṇ kōl.

The custom of naming fields seems to have been prevalent in the Pallava days as it is still in certain parts of the Tamil districts. The fields that were distinguished by their proper names are the following:—Viṇṇakkaviḷāgam nilam;[21] aḻañjirkkalampaṭṭi;[22] Toḻunervēlinilam; Ānaippūndalattu Ceruvu;[23] and Vaḻayapparaicceruvu.[24]

There were numerous measures named differently and each denoted a different standard. In Tiruvoṟṟiyūr there was a Nāḻi known by the name Karunāḻi and rice was measured by that.[25]

Nālvānāḻi is mentioned in an inscription of Teḷḷāṟṟu Nandi[26] and Mānāyanāḻi in an inscription of Nṛpatunga from the Chingleput District[27] and Piḻaiyānāḻi in another inscription of the same king from the Tanjore District.[28] Measures, it is evident, were also named after persons eminent in the time. Nārāyanāḻi which I think is a corruption of Nārāyaṇa nāḻi, is recorded in two inscriptions, one of Nandivarman's[29] and another of Nṛpatunga's.[30] The Pirudimāṇikka Uṟi was evidently named after Nṛpatunga's queen.[31] With regard to Viḍēlviḍugu Uḻakku it is clear that it was the measure sanctioned by the government of the time and therefore, it was a standard measure.[32]

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[14] 80 of 1898.
[15] 11 of 1898.
[16] 5 of 1898.
[17] 368 of 1904 and Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, p. 121.
[18] 33 of 1900.
[19] 7 of 1898.
[20] 33 of 1900.
[21] 48 of 1914.
[22] Tiruvaḷḷam Inscription of Nandivarman.
[23] 345 of 1906.
[24] 83 of 1919.
[25] 162 of 1912.
[26] 283 of 1901.
[27] 404 of 1905.
[28] 22 of 1930.

The smallest denomination of the measure of capacity expressed is a "Piḍi" a handful in the supply of ghee and oil—"Oru piḍi neyyum pōḍu kāṭṭum viḷakkinikku oru piḍi eṇṇaiyum muṭṭāmai śeluttuvōmānōm".[33] Ghee, oil, milk and curd were measured by the Śeviḍu or Śōḍu, Āḻākku, Uḻakku, Uri and Nāḻi. The first two items as we learn were only measured and not weighed. In one of Nṛpatunga's inscriptions, Śeviḍu, or Śōḍu is expressed both as a weight and as a measure of capacity. It is said that two Śeviḍu of Kāyam and one Śeviḍu of ghee were supplied.[34] Śeviḍu is usually taken to be ⅕ of an ollock and 360 grains in weight. Ollock is ⅛ of a measure, oḻakku ¼ of a measure[35] and uri ½ of a measure. Paḍi and Nāḻi are found to be synonymous terms to express a measure.[36]

Rice and Paddy were measured by the Nāḻi,[37] Marakkāl, Kuṟuṇi, Padakku[38] Kāḍi,[39] and Kalam.[40]

Weights.

Gold weights such as Kaḻañju[41] and Mañjāḍi were current in the country. In the Pallava inscriptions in general a 'Kaḻañju pon' has to be interpreted as a coin of weight, though a Kaḻañju of gold was also understood as a gold weight of a certain standard.

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[29] Ep. Ind. Vol. XX, p. 52.

[30] 122 of 1929.

[31] 461 of 1905.

[32] 32 of 1912. Chingleput District.

[33] 257 of 1912; also on 38 of 1930.

[34] 360 of 1921. In Ramnad and Pudukkottai, the capacity of a Śeviḍu is different.

[35] 360 of 1921 and 227 of 1920.

[36] 179 of 1915.

[37] 303 of 1901, 162 of 1912, 38 of 1930.

[38] 303 of 1901.

[39] 48 of 1904 and 27 of 1930.

[40] 116 of 1923.

[41] Altekar observes:—"Kaḻañju is really the name of a prickly climbing species of Caesalpina, the weight of whose seed varies between 45 to 50 grains. The average weight of the early punch-marked gold coins of the South also varies between 45 and 50 grains"—*Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times,* p. 365.

In an early Pāṇḍya inscription we have a definite statement to the effect that a Kaḻañju was equivalent to the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇakāca.[42] According to Mr. H. W. Codrington of the Ceylon Civil Service, a coin of the Kaḻañju weight in the island was called Kahāpaṇa. Again, another inscription speaks of a Kaḻañju as the equivalent of Niṣka.[43] The interest on Kaḻañjus of gold was calculated in mañjāḍis, a mañjāḍi being one-twentieth of a Kaḻañju.

COINAGE.

To obtain glimpses into the coinage of the ancient dynasties that reigned in South India, our sources of information are twofold. Firstly, the actual finds of coins in the different parts of the country; secondly, the references to coins contained in contemporary literature and epigraphy.

Finds of Pallava Coins.

Regarding finds of Pallava coins, these have been discussed by the following writers:—Elliot observes certain coins which he assigned to the Pallava dynasty.[44] He prepared two lists of these coins, one under the heading "Kurumbar or Pallava Coins of the Coromandel Coast" and the other "Pallava Coins." Later on Hultzsch added a short remark on the same subject. He informs us that Rev. Loventhal of Vellore possessed certain coins, some bearing the Nandi and the legend either "Śrībhara" or "Śrīnidhi"; a few bearing the fish on the reverse and the legend "Śrīnidhi" on the obverse; and yet a few with the cross on the reverse and the legend Mānapara on the obverse.[45]

Long after these notices from Hultzsch, Desikachariyar published "Lists of Pallava Coins" in addition to the following statements:—[46] "The coins attributable to the Pallavas are all illustrative of the age for which we have also the aid of inscriptions and have to be ascribed to a period later than the sixth century. The emblems ordinarily appearing on the coins of the Pallavas are "the bull" and "the two-masted ship." A lion or lioness takes the place of the bull on the obverse of some coins. .... On the reverse of the coins appears one or the other of the following emblems:—the svastika, the sacrificial lamp, the cakram, the bow, the fish, the umbrella, the caitya, the horse, the lion, the chank, the sacred vase and other emblems often occurring on the Āndhra coinage. The coins are die-struck and well executed and occur in copper and silver; gold coins I have not met with".[47]

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[42] 90 of 1908—Māṟañjaḍaiyan 4th year and 593 days.

[43] 181 of 1912.

[44] Numismata Orientalia—*"Coins of South India,"* pub. 1885.

[45] S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 2.

[46] Proceedings of the Madras Literary Society, 7th Jan. 1916. It may be noted that an early contribution on coins exclusively of South India is found in Moore's "Hindu Pantheon," 1809.

Coins bearing the legends "Śrīnidhi" or "Śrībhara" and the Bull.

Now, a perusal of the catalogues of coins of Elliot and Desikachariyar leads us to concentrate first on these coins which carry on them the legend "Śrībhara" or "Śrīnidhi" and the bull.[48] Among the Pallava kings, Rājasimha *alias* Narasimhavarman II definitely assumed the titles "Śrībhara" and "Śrīnidhi" for which we have contemporary epigraphical evidence.[49] Besides, Plate I of Elliot contains drawings of these coins and the characters on them are clearly old enough for the age suggested.[50] Moreover, the bull besides being the Pallava emblem in general, was a special favourite of Rājasimha, for he in particular was an ardent Śaiva who bore on his head "the Lord as his crest"—"Śivacūḍāmaniḥ." On the strength of these points we may assign the coins with the abovementioned devices to Narasimhavarman II.

Coins bearing the legend "Śrībhara" or Śrīnidhi," the Bull and the Fish.

In Dēśikāchariyar's second list, we observe that certain coins bear the bull and the legend either "Śrībhara" or "Śrīnidhi" on the obverse and a fish or double-fish on the reverse. The significance of the Pāṇḍyan crest on the Pallava coins needs explanation.

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[47] It must be noted in this connection that we have not so far discovered any gold coins which may definitely be attributed to the Pallavas. However, when I had the occasion of examining the coin chest of the Madras Government Museum, I came across six small gold coins each of them bearing a legend in archaic characters. The late Mr. Śrīnivāsā cāriar, the numasmatist assistant of the Museum, read the legend as Kaṭhacitra. If Kaṭha is an abridged form of Kātaka synonymous with Kāḍava and if 'Citra' again is a shortened form of the names Citrakārapuli and Citramēgha—surnames of Mahēndravarman I—then we may suggest that these six gold coins belong to the Pallava king Mahēndravarman.

[48] Elliot, plate I, Nos. 32, 34, 36 & 37. Rangachari's list II, Nos. 1, 2, 16, 21, 24 & 28.

[49] S.I.I. Vol. I, No. 2—Dharmarāja Ratha, 14—Dharmarāja Ratha, 18—Verse 4, 19—lines 5 & 9, No. 21—Verse 4, No. 22—Line 2, No. 24—Rājasimhēśvara inscription. Verses 7 & 12.

[50] Nos. 32, 34 and 37.

To turn to the Cōḷa coinage for a moment, we have examples of silver coins of the Cōḷas which bear both the Pāṇḍyan and the Cera emblems—the fish and the bow implying thereby that the paramount power was vested in the Cōḷas.[51] Coins too are not uncommon on which the legend "Rāja-Rāja" appears with the tiger, and the double-fish, the Pāṇḍyan emblem. This is again indicative of the fact that the Pāṇḍyas recognised the Cōḷa supremacy.[52]

A similar explanation may be given with regard to the coins of Rājasimha; the fish or the double-fish clearly suggests the recognition of the Pallava supremacy by the Pāṇḍyas.

The adoption of the fish on the coins of the Pallavas in the time of Narasimhavarman II and the indication that the Pāṇḍyas recognised the Pallava supremacy, receive additional strength from a foreign source—the Chinese annals. We are informed that in the 8th year K'ai-Ywen (720 A.D.) the 8th month, and on the day of ting-tch-cow, a decree was addressed to Tchong-chow-men-hia to inform him that the king of South India, had sent from afar (an ambassador), to render homage and pay tribute, and this ambassador, as (he) was due to return, he must look after him with the greatest care till his departure and act in such a way that his hopes might be fulfilled. This ambassador was therefore given (by the Chinese Emperor) a robe of flowered silk, a golden girdle, a purse with an emblem in the form of a fish and the seven objects and then he was sent away.[53]

There is no doubt that the king of South India mentioned here is Narasimhavarman II, for it was he who was on intimate terms with the contemporary Chinese Emperor. The purse with the fish emblem on it attracts our attention. It seems probable that the Emperor purposely presented to the ambassador the purse with a fish emblem in order to honour the Pallava king by the recognition of the fact that the powerful Pāṇḍyas acknowledged the Pallava supremacy in South India.

In this connection, it may also be noted that the suggestion of Kōccaḍaiyan's marriage with the daughter of Rājasimha was perhaps brought about by the fact that the Pāṇḍyan king recognised the Pallava sway over the south and thought it diplomatic to enter into a dynastic alliance with the Pallavas.[54]

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[51] P. 132, Elliot, *Coins of South India*; figs. 88 & 97 of Desikachariyar's second list.

[52] Desikachariyar—plate VI, No. 15.

[53] *Toung Pao*, Series II, Vol. 5, pp. 44-45.

In the light of these points, the coins bearing the legend "Śrībhara" or "Śrīnidhi," the bull and the fish are of historical value for they are both religious and political in significance.

Coins bearing the Bull and the legend "Mānapara."

These coins bear on the obverse the bull over which the legend "Mānapara" is seen. The legend is very distinct in Elliot's drawing. The emblem on the reverse, according to Desikachariyar, is a chank on a pedestal within a rayed circle;[55] but Elliot describes[56] the device as a Maltese cross (Sun) enclosed within a circle and surrounded by dots, probably representing stars. So far, "Mānapara" is not found among the birudas of Rājasimha, but it is not likely that he assumed this also among his innumerable surnames, for Atimāna (he whose pride is excessive) distinctly occurs as one of his birudas on the Dharma Rāja Ratha.[57]

Coins with the Bull, "Śrībhara" or "Śrīnidhi" and other devices.

We have noticed coins with the bull along with the legend "Śrībhara" or "Śrīnidhi" on the obverse and one of the following emblems on the reverse:—cakra, crescent, chouries, chaitya, a state umbrella, a tortoise and a crab. All these may be assigned to Rājasimha.[58] It is curious why Rājasimha introduced the figure of a crab on his coins.[59] Perhaps it indicated the commercial activities of the period, the home of the crab being the seashore. Similarly the emblem of the tortoise[60] was a sign of plenty which is supported by the popular phrase "uḍmbōḍi āmaitavil̲ndu" found in the later Pallava and Cōḷa inscriptions.

Coins with the Bull emblem but without the legend

Certain coins classed as Pallava, bear the bull on the obverse and there is no legend above and the reverse is adorned by various devices. Excepting the bull we have no other mark on these coins to stamp them as Pallava; therefore, we have to be careful in assigning them to the Pallava period.[61]

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[54] *Pallavas*—Dubreuil, p. 68.

[55] List II, No. 18.

[56] Elliot, plate I, No. 33.

[57] Ep. Ind., Vol. 10, p. 6, No. 9.

[58] Desikachariyar's list II, Nos. 5 to 13, 16, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28.

[59] Elliot's list I, No. 36.

[60] Desikachariyar's list II, No. 3.

[61] These refer to the Bull-marked coins of Desikachariyar's list I and those having doubtful legends in List II, and No. 27 of the same list.

Coins with the two-masted ship.

Elliot has assigned these coins to the Pallavas.[62] These are always found on the Coromandel Coast. We know that the Andhras struck their leaden coins with a two-masted ship and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Rapson describes a similar coin with the legend "Śrī Puḷumāyi".[63] Since the coins in Elliot's list bear a bull, they may be Pallava coins. If so, the maritime activities of the Pallavas easily explain the adoption of the ship on their coins. However, they might have borrowed the idea from the Āndhras.

Coins with the Lion emblem.

A number of coins with the lion emblem are catalogued as Pallava coins.[64] The Pallava kings did adopt the lion to adorn the seals of a few of their early copper-plates, but all those grants come from the Āndhra country. And we know definitely that the crest of the Pallava kings of the Simhaviṣṇu line was the bull and not the lion. Unless there are better indications to prove that the Pallavas in the South had also the lion as an emblem, we have to be cautious in accepting these coins as belonging to them.

Evidence of Epigraphy on Pallava coins.

Pallava epigraphy mainly relates to gold coins. Gifts to temples were made both in the form of gold weight and in the form of coins. Mention of kāṇam, paḻangāśu, tuḷaippon pon and viḍēl-viḍugu pon are found in the Tamil inscriptions. Though 'pon' literarlly means 'gold', in the cases where we have the statement "nālupon daṇḍappaḍuvōmānōm," pon has to be interpreted as a gold coin of a certain weight. It is interesting to realise that Paḻangāśu[65] was believed to be of greater fineness; hence we have the statement "Paḻangāśinōḍu uraippa tuḷaippon" *i.e.*, fineness to be the same as that of the old coins. Tuḷaippon is identified by reason of a hole at the centre, which is believed to be a base-mark certifying the genuineness and fineness of the gold used. "Viḍēlviḍugu-tuḷaiyiṭṭaśempon"[66] was evidently a gold coin bearing the Viḍēlviḍugu mark.

A kaḻañju in the Pallava period, as observed already, was in circulation as a coin of kaḻañju weight.

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[62] List I, No. 38.

[63] Rapson—"*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*", p. 22.

[64] Desikachariyar's list I, Elliot's plate II, Nos. 49, 53, 54.

[65] 278 of 1902.

[66] 297 of 1902.

Note F.—On Hala and Pāṭāka.

Bhikhu hala is noticed both in the Kārle and Nāsik inscriptions and Senart comments on this[67] : " Hala designates in certain cases a measure of land (Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 8, Note) the extent of which varies according to the word which precedes and determines hala ; see dharmahala, *Hāritasmṛti* quoted by Kullūka on Manu, VII, 119 ; Vr̲haddhala, inscription of Harsha (Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 125," etc. But hala has also the meaning of " cultivated field " as in dēvabhōgahala ; compare brāhmaṇānām halakṣētra in the Uruvappalli plates (Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 52 text, line 23) .

It may interest us in this connection to know that there was a tax called " halikakara." In this technical sense " Halikakara " is unknown to the literature on Hindu Administration. Perhaps it was a tax imposed on each plough of land, taking the plough to be a unit of land measure.[68]

Pāṭaka.

In several Sanskrit inscriptions we meet with the land measure Pāṭaka and I think that this must correspond to the Tamil unit Pāḍagaṃ.

Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 143, 144, 280, 283, 286, 313, 314 and 315.

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[67] Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 66.

[68] *Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions,* p. 134. Ghoshal—"*Hindu Revenue System,*" p. 213. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX, p. 21.

CHAPTER VII

WATER SUPPLY AND IRRIGATION

An important problem.

The vital problem of providing a good supply of water for irrigation concerned both the rulers and the ruled of South India which is mainly agricultural and where rivers are not perennial but depend on rainfall from time to time. In the different periods of South Indian history, successful attempts were frequently made to mitigate the difficulties of water supply and irrigation by constructing tanks, digging wells, cutting out canals and making sluices and embankments. Such constructive works were partly the result of state action and partly the outcome of individual benefactions.

Construction of tanks in the days of the Pallavas.

The amount of work done under the Pallavas in this field is tremendous and far-reaching. Epigraphy provides us with the names of a number of tanks which were in existence under them, several of which continue to exist to this day. These tanks were either named after the kings themselves or after some distinguished chief of the locality.

Rājataṭāka.

The British Museum plates[1] mention the Rājataṭāka or King's tank. The queen Cārudēvī made a grant of four nivartanas of land near the Rājātaṭāka the recipient of which was the God Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) at Dāḷūra. The lands and the taṭāka seem to have existed in a place called Kaḍaka[2] which has not yet been identified. The Rājataṭāka need not necessarily mean that it was a tank exclusively used by the king. Like Rājavīthī[3] which generally means a public road, it was probably a public tank used for irrigation since cultivable lands near the tank were made over to the temple.

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[1] Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII—p. 145.

[2] "The second and third syllables of Ka(ḍaka) are injured and the true reading of the word may be a different one. The name cannot refer to Cuttack in Orissa which is far to the north of the Pallava territory." Ibid—Hultzsch.

[3] Cf. The King's Highway.

Tiraiyanēri.

About ten miles to the east of Conjeevaram is the tank now known as Tennēri which is said to be a corruption of Tiraiyanēri mentioned in the Kaśākuḍi plates[4] of Nandivarman Pallava Malla. The Sanskrit portion of the plates names it Tiraḷaya Taṭāka which evidently must have been constructed in the time of one of the predecessors of Nandivarman II. There is the belief that Toṇḍamān Iḷandiraiyan was the first king of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam which was named after him. He was the son of Kiḷḷi by Pīlivaḷai, the daughter of Valaivaṇan, the Nāga king of Maṇipallavam. Kiḷḷi is said to have caused a grove and a tank to be made at Kāñcī in imitation of those in the island of Maṇipallavam.[5]

Mr. C. Rasanayagam Mudaliar[6] suggests that the tank dug by Kiḷḷi was perhaps the one referred to in the Kaśākuḍi plates as the tank of Tiraiyan. However, Mr. Sewell has recorded in his 'Antiquities'[7] that a stone on the tank bund contains an inscription in Tamil, stating that the tank was dug by one Tātāchāriār. The evidence in the Kaśākuḍi plates is enough to prove that the tank owes its origin to some predecessor of Nandivarman II rather than to the individual named Tātāchāriār who perhaps repaired the tank in a later age.

Mahēndra Taṭāka.

Mahēndra Taṭāka in Mahēndravāḍi, a village three miles East-South-East of the Shōḷingūr railway station on the line from Arkōṇam Junction to Arcot is to-day a partially ruined tank on whose bank stands the cave temple Mahēndra Viṣṇugṛham excavated by Mahēndravarman I. Mahēndravāḍi seems to have been an important place reached by a number of roads all round. Regarding the utility of the tank for irrigation the Manual of the North Arcot District[8] says:—"Mahēndravāḍi has a fine tank, the date of the construction of which is not known. The tank must originally have been larger than that of Kavēripākam, and served lands some seven or eight miles distant. The bund was enormously high and might be restored to its original height in which case a great extent of land could be brought under irrigation." The place Mahēndravāḍi, the temple Mahēndra Viṣṇugṛham and the

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4. S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, pp. 351 et seq.
5. *Maṇimēkalai*: Canto 28, p. 201-207.
6. Ind. Antiq. Vol. 52, p. 79.
7. Ant. Vol. I—p. 188.
8. *Manual of North Arcot Dt.* II Ed. Vol. II, pp. 438 et seq.

tank Mahēndrataṭāka all seem to owe their origin to the Pallava monarch Mahēndravarman *alias* Guṇabhara.[9]

Citramēgha Taṭāka or the tank of Māmaṇḍūr.

It has been understood that the Citramēgha taṭāka and the tank at Māmaṇḍūr were two different tanks which existed in the Pallava kingdom.[10] In one of the rock-cut caves at Māmaṇḍūr there are two Cōḷa inscriptions,[11] in Tamil referring to the tank at the place by the name 'Citramēghataṭāka.' It is almost certain that it was Mahēndravarman[12] who excavated these caves which still occupy a picturesque position on the banks of this very tank. It is not unlikely that this Citrakārapuli[13] had also the name Citramēgha and that the tank owes its origin and name to this great Pallava ruler. Instances are not wanting to prove the Mahēndravarman chose to excavate his caves on the banks of rivers and tanks. The Uṇḍavalli caves are right on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and so also the Tiricirāppaḷḷi caves on the Kāvēri, the Mahēndravāḍi cave is situated on the banks of the Mahēndra taṭāka like the Pallāvaram cave on that of the Pallāvaram tank. All this coupled with the fact that a part of Mamaṇḍūr village continued to be known as 'Mahēndramangalam' till the 14th century[14] leads one to conclude that the tank at Māmaṇḍūr also came into being during the reign of Mahēndravarman I.

When I visited[15] Māmaṇḍūr I had the opportunity of seeing the tank almost full. It is by far the largest tank in the whole district and I am told it supplies water all the twelve months of the year. The depth is very great though, according to Mr. Cox, the water-spread is not so extensive as that of the Kāvēripākam tank. He further adds[16]:—"The bund rests upon the bases of two hills and islets rise here and there in the centre of the reservoir, making it the prettiest tank in the district."

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[9] Ep. Indica, Vol. IV, p. 152.

[10] Gopalan *Pallavas*—p. 155.

[11] S.I.I., Vol. IV Nos. 39 & 40 of 1888—p. 13.

[12] His inscriptions on the wall of the cave and the architectural style of these are the deciding factors.

[13] A Biruda of Mahēndravarman found on a pillar built into the thousand-pillared Maṇḍapa of the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeevaram.

[14] 41 of 1890, Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 115.

[15] First week of June 1932 after some showers.

[16] *Manual of N. Arcot Dt.* Vol. II, p. 305.

Paramēśvara Taṭāka.

The actual construction of this tank named after Paramēśvaravarman I is recorded in the Kūram plates[17] of the same king. It was intended to irrigate all the lands in the newly constituted village, Paramēśvaramangalam.

Vairamēgha Taṭāka.

This is the large and famous tank at Uttiramērūr in the Chingleput District. Among the numerous inscriptions of the place, several of which record endowments made for the maintenance of the tank in the late Pallava and early Cōḷa periods, not one seems to mention specifically the construction of the tank. However, this does not prevent us from approximately fixing its age. On the origin of the tank, Mr. Venkayya remarks[18]:—" In an inscription of the seventh year of Dantivarman, who is probably identical with Dantippōttaraśar, a certain Brāhmaṇa, purchased land for constructing a tank at Uttiramērūr (No. 80 of 1898) and it is not impossible that this refers to the Vairamēgha Taṭāka. Even if this should not prove true, the fact that the Vairamēgha taṭāka is first mentioned in an inscription of Dantippōttaraśar may at least provisionally be taken to show that the tank came into existence during the reign of that Pallava king and that Vairamēgha was one of his surnames." I am certain that the inscription No. 80 of 1898 does not relate to the construction of the Vairamēgha tank; for it was one Svāmikumāra Caturvēdi Śōmayāji who purchased a small extent of land for digging a tank which was to be known as Svāmikumāra Kuṭṭam; and as kuṭṭam is only a pond or a small tank, it cannot refer to the construction of the large tank Vairamēgha taṭāka; nor is there any record to show that this Svāmikumāra Kuṭṭam was renamed Vairamēgha Taṭāka at a later date. But I have no hesitation in accepting that Vairamēgha was a surname of Dantivarman and from the fact that Vairamēgha taṭāka gets mentioned for the first time in an inscription of Dantivarman dated in the 9th year of his reign, I conclude that the tank must have been constructed early in his reign, either by Dantivarman himself or by some one under his patronage, and the tank was evidently named after the king. We shall have occasion to speak more about this tank at a later stage.

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[17] S.I.I., part I, p. 150.

[18] Arch. Sur. India. Annual Report, 1903-1904, p. 204.

Vāli Ēri.

The digging of the tank called Vāli Ēri named after its builder, Vāli Vaḍugan *alias* Kalimūrkha Iḷavaraiyan, is specifically recorded in an inscription of Dantivarman[19] dated in his fifth year and found inscribed on the north wall of the cave temple at Kunṟāṇḍārkōyil in the present Pudukottah State. The builder calls himself a servant of Marappiḍuvinār *alias* Pēradiaraiyar. It is clear from this that he was the servant of a Pallava feudatory. I saw a number of tanks in the vicinity of the village when I visited Kunṟāṇḍārkōyil, but could not succeed in finding out which of them is the Vāli Ēri.

Mārppiḍugēri.

At Ālambākkam, not far from Tiruveḷḷaṟai in the Trichinopoly District, there was, as recorded in the inscriptions of the place, a tank called Mārppiḍugēri. We shall see presently that the Tiruveḷḷaṟai well which was dug by a Pallava feudatory in the fifth year of Dantivarman was named Mārppiḍugu Perunginar obviously after the surname of the Muttaraiyar chiefs who were ruling these parts of the Pallava kingdom.

K. V. S. Aiyar says:[20] "It is just possible that both the Mārppiḍugēri of Ālambākkam and the Mārppiḍugu Perunginar of Tiruveḷḷaṟai came into existence at the same time and were named after the same person." The fact that Ālambākkam was called 'Dantivarmamangalam' and that the Kailāsanātha temple at the place was built by Dantivarman,[21] make us believe that the Mārppiḍugēri was also constructed in the reign of the same Pallava king.[22]

Veḷḷēri and Tumbānēri.

Two other tanks are mentioned in an inscription of Dantivarman dated in his 49th year.[23] One is called 'Veḷḷēri' and the other 'Tumbānēri' and both were no doubt irrigation tanks supplying water for the fields in and near the village of Guḍimallam in the present North Arcot District.

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[19] 348 of 1914. See also the Pudukottah Inscriptions.

[20] Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 156.

[21] 723 & 727 of 1909.

[22] 226 of 1903 and Ep. Ind. Vol. XI.

[23] 394, 397 & 404 of 1905.

The Tank at Kāvērippākkam.

The big tank at Kāvērippākkam, which has a bund four miles long, north to south, must have been constructed about the time of the Pallava king Teḷḷāṟeṟinda Nandippōttaraiyar. That the village of Kāvērippākkam is as old as the 9th century is clear from the Pallava as well as the Bāṇa inscriptions.[24] In the inscriptions of Nṛpatungavarman and Kampavarman, the place is called 'Avaninārāyaṇa Caturvēdimangalam' named after Nandivarman III who, as we know from the Kalambagam[25] had the surname 'Avaninārāyaṇa.' From the inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I,[26] we learn that the tank committee of the village was very busy with the management of the tank at Kāvērippākkam. The tank, therefore, must have come into existence some considerable time before Parāntaka's rule. And it is quite possible that it was dug during the reign of Nandivarman III.

Marudāḍu Ēri.

The village of Marudāḍu in Veṇkunṟakōṭṭam (Wandiwash Taluk of North Arcot District) seems to have had a tank used for irrigation as evidenced by an inscription[27] on a slab lying in the tank and dated in the twelfth year of Nṛpatungavarman. Since the record speaks of additions and repairs made to the tank by a feudatory of Nṛpatunga, it is clear that the age of the tank is very much earlier than the reign of Nṛpatungavarman.

Kanakavallī Taṭāka.

An inscription[28] on the inner wall of the Perumāḷ temple at Kāṭṭuttumbūr *alias* Śōḷapuram in the present Vellore Taluk of the North Arcot District, records in the 23rd year of the late Pallava king Kōvijaya Kampavikramavarman, the building of this Viṣṇu temple which was given the name "Kanakavallī Viṣṇugṛha." The inscription further states that lands under the Kanakavallī tank were endowed to the same temple for its maintenance etc. Since the temple must have been named after the builder Kanakavallī. (See Hultzsch's discussion on Śōḷapuram Inscriptions of Kampavarman.) I take it that the tank was also constructed by the same person Kanakavallī.

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[24] S.I.I., Vol. III, part I—p. 95.
[25] *Nandikkalambakam,* v. 3 of Intr. and v. 18, 22, 64 & 66, Text.
[26] 693 of 1904.
[27] 417 of 1912.
[28] Ep. Indica, Vol. VII, p. 93.

Apart from the above-mentioned tanks, a few more Pallava inscriptions contain references to tanks which formed the boundaries of lands endowed to temples and to Brahmans. Among the boundaries indicated in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, we have the names of three tanks, *viz.*, Cakratīrtha, Uragahrada (the serpent lake), and Sindhuvārahrada (a lake surrounded by Sindhuvāra trees). These tanks seem to have belonged to the North Arcot District. Another tank by name Karvāḍi Ēri is mentioned as the eastern boundary of some tax-free land appearing in an inscription of Kampavarman at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.[29] No trace of this tank is found anywhere near Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.

Sources of supply to the tanks.

These tanks were either solely rain-fed or fed by rivers by means of channels. According to the Kūram plates, Paramēśvara taṭāka at Paramēśvaramangalam in Panmānāḍu of Maṇayiṟ-kōṭṭam was fed by the river Pālāṟu by means of the Perumbiḍugu channel dug in the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I. It was the Ceyyār that was and is the source of water supply to the Vairamēgha *alias* Uttiramērūr tank. The extensive tank at Kāvērippākkam was fed by the Pālāṟu by means of a channel which, according to the District Manual,[30] is much silted up in the course of years.

Wells.

I have given an almost exhaustive list of tanks which were distributed in the various parts of the Pallava kingdom and now I turn to the next artificial source of water supply, viz., wells. Wells are used both for drinking and domestic purposes and for irrigation. Well irrigation no doubt extends but slowly. Still it was as common in ancient days as it is to-day.

The earliest mention of a well in the Pallava charters is found in the Prākṛt record of the queen Cārudevī. It mentions a drinking well Pānīyakūpạ near the king's tank which has already been noted.[31] The Pallava charters of the 7th and 8th centuries relating to Brahmadēya and Dēvadāna gifts record royal permission to dig wells, small and large, in the respective villages concerned: turavu kiṇaṟu eḍukka peṟuvadāgavum. This was one of the important privileges enjoyed by the Brahmadēya and Dēvadāna villages. The Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallava Malla and the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant of Nandivarman III state definitely that the two respective villages obtained royal permission to dig wells within the village.

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[29] 372 of 1911.

[30] *North Arcot District Manual*: Vol. I, p. 438, 2nd ed.

[31] Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 145.

The construction of a well by a subordinate of Dantivarman is recorded in one of his inscriptions.[32] This well is still in existence and is known at present as the 'Nālumūlai kēṇi.' I had the opportunity to go to the spot and examine the well myself, and a description of the same will enable the reader to judge the artistic taste of the people then even in the construction of a well.

Mārppiḍugu Perungiṇaṟu.

At a distance of fourteen miles to the North-West of Trichinopoly is the interesting village of Tiruveḷḷaṟai, famous today as a Viṣṇusthala. Outside the enclosures of the Puṇḍarīkākṣa Perumāḷ temple and at a distance of fifty yards from the rock-cut cave is the beautiful well about thirty-seven feet square.

The inscription on the margin of the well is in an excellent state of preservation and its object is to record the construction of the well known as the Mārppiḍugu Perungiṇaṟu by Kamban Aṟaiyan, the younger brother of Viśaiya Nallulān of Ālambākkam. The work was commenced in the fourth year and completed in the fifth year of Dantivarman. The shape of the well is that of a Svastika with four entrances and hence the present name Nālumūlaikkēṇi. From each entrance a flight of steps leads to the interior of the well. On the inner face of each of the portals are sculptures which by their appearance are very ancient and must have been carved at the time when the well was built. The portal on the northern side has Śiva and Pārvatī seated with other deities and flanked on either side by a Nandi. On the southern entrance are found the Saptamātṛkas while the eastern side is adorned by the figure of Yōga Narasimha. The western side has the image of a king with a sword, followed by a horse and some warriors.

Mārppiḍugu was a title borne by the Muttaraiyars ruling in these parts about this time as feudatories of the Pallavas, and it may be that Kamban Araiyan, the builder, was either a subject of the Muttaraiyar or a member of the Muttaraiyar family itself. Hence the name of the well Mārppiḍugu Perungiṇar. (Pl. X. fig. 19).

Though there are inscriptions on the margin of this well relating to repairs done about the 13th century, still it does not look as if the well has undergone any radical change. The size of the well suggests that it was used both for supplying water to the temple and for irrigating the devadāna lands near it. Even now the water is good and wholesome and with a little cleaning it could be used for drinking purposes.

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[32] Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 145.

METHODS OF IRRIGATION.

Canals.

Irrigation by means of canals was widely in use. There were large channels allowing water straight from rivers to irrigate adjacent fields and these river channels were known as Āṟṟukkāl.[33] The Nāṭṭukkāl, i.e., district channel, of the Kūram plates[34] of Paramēśvaravarman I evidently had its source from the Pālār and irrigated the fields in the Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu kōṭṭam. Two Tamil inscriptions of the Cōḷa period,[35] which come from Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai, a village three miles to the west of Trichinopoly, mention a channel called Vairamēgha Vāykkāl.

The name of the channel and the fact that the village situated on its southern bank was called Nandivarmamangalam, a Brahmadēya named after Nandivarman II or Nandivarman III, mark the Pallava influence in this part of the Trichinopoly district and indicate that the channel was dug sometime in the 8th century and was named after Dantivarman *alias* Vairamēgha.

I may now venture the suggestion that the present Uyyakoṇḍān Vāykkāl which is one of the irrigation channels which take off from the Kāvēri and which supplies water to the town of Trichinopoly, is the original Vairamēgha Vāykkāl of the Pallavas.

There were canals dug from rivers to feed tanks which in turn were used as main sources of water supply to the fields by means of branch channels. Such a canal was the Perumpiḍugu Vāykkāḷ dug from the river Pālār feeding the Paramēśvara taṭāka in Paramēśvaramangalam. Branch channels from main canals and tanks were variously known as 'Kurangu',[36] 'Kāl,' or 'Kiḷaikkāl'[37] and 'Ōḍai.[38] The Gaṇapati Vāykkāl[39] and the Śrīdhara Vāykkāl[40] mentioned in the Uttiramērūr inscriptions were obviously branch channels dug from the Vairamēgha taṭāka and irrigating the fields in and around Uttiramērūr.

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[33] Kaśākuḍi plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, p. 352, line 116.

[34] Kūram grant, S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 150, line 67.

[35] 458 of 1908:—On the South wall of the Ujjīvanāthaśvāmin temple records gift of land for offerings to the temple of Tirukkaṟukuḍi Paramēśvara in Nandivarmamangalam, a Brāhmadēya on the southern bank by Parāntakan Mādēvaḍigaḷ *alias* Śembiyan Mādēvi. Mentions the channel Vairamēgha Vāykkāl. 466 of 1908: On the rock near the north-east corner of the central shrine in the same temple. A damaged record. Records gift of gold for the purchase of a land by a certain Mayilaittīṇḍan. Mentions the channel Vairamēgha Vāykkāl.

The method of irrigating fields through inundation canals is very ancient. Shallow cuts are made through the river bank into which the water flowed when the level of the water in the river rose higher in the floods which occur every year. We can find that usually the heads of inundation canals are made on the true bank of the main river from which they draw their supply, and men learnt by experience to choose those spots for the heads of inundation canals which were secure from the full force of the current during the inundation.

Irrigation by means of inundation canals was common in the days of the Pallavas. Nandivaraman Pallava Malla permitted the Brahmins of the newly constituted village of Ēkadhīramangalam to make 'Veḷḷakkāl' on the banks of the rivers Vēgavatī and Pālār and irrigate all the fields within the village.[41]

Spring channels are temporary means by which water is supplied to the fields when the rivers are fairly dry during the hot weather. They are made on river-beds and the supply is very limited. Even now such channels are found on the beds of Pālār and other rivers of South India and the Kūram plates record the permission given to the donees to dig 'Ūṟṟukkāl' (spring channels) from the beds of the rivers Pālār and Vēgavatī.[42]

Picotahs and Baskets.

Ēttampulam[43] and Ēttapāḍam[44] are lands irrigated by means of picotahs which consist usually of a bucket of earthenware or leather hung to a pole which can oscillate in a vertical plane; the short end of the pole is counterbalanced by a weight, usually a clod of earth or an old grindstone, so that the bucket when full, requires but little force to raise it. The person who works this contrivance stands at the edge of the well and uses his weight to depress the bucket into the water when with but little force, it rises to the level where the water is delivered. I am not in a position to describe the exact nature of the kur̲r̲ēttam[45] mentioned in the Pallava charters. Very likely it was similar to the one described above and was a small picotah as against the one which was known by the name pērēttam,[46] i.e., large picotahs. A particular area of fields was very often fed by more than one picotah. This depended on the extent of the area cultivated and the size of the well or tank. Of two inscriptions from Tiruvor̲r̲iyūr, one of Aparājita talks of 'Onr̲iru pērēttabhūmi,' the land irrigated by one or two picotahs, and the other of Kampavarman,[47] of lands to be irrigated by four picotahs 'tengēri innilattir̲kē nalēttameḍuppadāga'—the lands on the banks of the Tengēri to be irrigated by four picotahs. The grant which was made by Pallava Malla at the request of Udayacandra consisted of the village of Kumāramangala veḷḷattūr which belonged to the district called Paścimāśraya nadīviṣaya—and of two water-levers (Jala-yantras) in the neighbouring village of Kor̲r̲agrāma which were added in order to supply the former village with means of irrigation. No information is furnished regarding the type of Jala-yantra that was used in the village. It may be that these Jala-yantras were similar to the mills spoken of by Kauṭilya.[48]

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[36] 'Ikkālkaḷil kūḍai iraittum kurangaṟuttum.' S.I.I., Vol. II, part 3, p. 352, line 18.

[37] Ep. Indica, Vol. V, p. 49.

[38] Bāhūr plates, Ep. Indica, Vol. XVIII, p. 5.

[39] 11 of 1898. 'Gaṇavati Vāykkāngarai engaḷ pāḍagam'.

[40] *Ibid.* 64 and 17 of 1898. 'Śrīdhara vāykkālin karai irunūṟṟu nāṟpadu kuḻiyum.'

[41] S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, p. 352, line 116.

[42] S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 151, line 80.

[43] Kīḻaputtūr inscription of Kampavarman. 116 of 1923.

[44] Ep. Indica, Vol. V, p. 49.

Irrigation by means of baskets[49] was as popular as by means of picotahs, the only difference being that the area under irrigation by the former method was comparatively small.

Construction of sluices.

Sluices are generally mechanical contrivances by which water is let out from the main canals into other branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. Sluices are also used for surplus vents. They are usually constructed on the tank bund to permit the flow of surplus water and keep the tank intact from bursting owing to overfulness of water. 'Kalingu' in Tamil is commonly understood to be a sluice. The Marudāḍu inscription dated in the twelfth year of Nṛpatungavarman differentiates between 'kalingu' and 'tūmbu.'[50] It says that an individual Kongaraiyar-ninṟaperumāḷ constructed a kalingu for the ēri at the place and also repaired the tūmbu therein. 'Tūmbu' may stand for a sluice or an outlet, for a vent in a sluice and also for a channel for irrigation, and in this particular inscription it may be taken to be a channel for irrigation which perhaps got silted up causing the necessity for repair.

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[45] S.I.I., Vol. II part III, p. 352, lines 118 & 119; and S.I.I., Vol. I, page 151

[46] 180 of 1912.

[47] 372 of 1911.

[48] Arthaśāstra, Book II, ch. 24, (ed. Shama Sastri, 1924, p. 117).

[49] S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, p. 352, line 118: "Ikkālkaḷil kūḍai iraittum."

Another inscription of the same reign dated in the sixth year from a village called Vaḻuvūr[51] in the North Arcot District, speaks of the construction of a tūmbu or sluice by Maramiḻibāṇar, son of Mannaravar of Mūnavarnāḍu. Dr. Hultzsch has edited a very late Tamil inscription from a rock at Taṇḍalam, a village in the Kārvēṭinagar, a zamindari four-and-a-half-miles west by north of Arkōnam Junction. The inscription is not that of any known Pallava king of the imperial line, but belongs to the tenth year of one Śātti, the king of the Kāḍavas. What is interesting is that it registers in two verses the building of a sluice by Śātti for the tank at Taṇḍalam.[52]

Six miles north of the famous Koḍumbāḷūr in the Pudukottah State is the place called Rāśāḷippaṭṭi where there is a big ruined irrigation tank (aḻindukiḍakkum kāmmai)[53] in the midst of which there is what is called a sluice which according to an inscription on the stone there, was built by Pullayakaḍamban, son of Āridanpullan, in the twenty-fifth year of Nandippōttaraiyar, probably Nandivarman Pallava Malla.[54] I am inclined to take this 'kaṟkumiḻi' to be a stone aqueduct rather than a sluice as a result of the description given to me of it by the people residing at Koḍumbāḷūr when I visited the place. We have to differentiate between an aqueduct and an ordinary sluice, because the former is used for conveying a canal over a river.

Kūṟṟanvāy or head-sluice.

The head-sluice, as we understand it, is a regulator. The masonry work at the point where a canal takes off from a river is called the head-sluice or regulating bridge; its object is to control the supply entering the canal. Kūṟṟanvāy, vāyttalai, talaivāy, and mukavāy of our inscriptions are to be identified with head-sluices. The donees of the village of Dayāmukhamangalam received the sanction to construct a head of water (uvanṟi) above the main sluice (kūṟṟanvāy) for the maintenance of which three shares of the cultivable lands within the village were allotted.[55]

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[50] 417 of 1912: "Marudāṭṭērikkalinguśevittu tūmbu pudukkuvittār Kongaraiyar-ninṟa perumān."

[51] 68 of 1908.

[52] Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 25.

[53] Pudukottah Inscriptions, p. 10.

[54] *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 10; "Śrī Nandippōttaraiyaṟku yāṇḍiruppataindāvadu Śrī Āridanpullan Magan Pullayakaḍamban śeyvitta kaṟkumiḻi."

The Kūram grant makes a difference between vāyttalai and talaippēḻai which also occur in the Rāyakōṭa copper plate of Skandaśiṣya.[56] Dr. Hultzsch leaves talaippēḻai untranslated. We know that 'pēḻvāy' stands for a large mouth and it may be that talaippēḻai is another term for unvanṟi or the head of water which according to the Kaśākuḍi plates, was constructed above the head-sluice.

The maintenance of irrigation.

The actual duties concerning the maintenance of irrigation works rested on the village administrative authorities, namely, the Sabhā and its committees. Constant repairs had to be done to sluices and tanks. The silt which was borne in suspension in the water of tanks, while it was often a source of abundant advantage to the fields, was not infrequently the cause of much trouble in tanks and channels for irrigation purposes. It was always necessary to prevent too much deposition of silt in the tanks and channels where it impeded and sometimes choked the discharge. Large endowments were made to keep the tanks and channels free from silting, and scrupulous care was taken to excavate and deposit the silt on the tank bund. If it was a large tank small boats were used to carry the silt to the tank bunds.[57]

The Tank Committee.

We hear of the existence of a special committee for the management of tanks 'Ērivāriya perumakkaḷ' only from the Uttiramērūr inscriptions of the later Pallavas and for the first time in the reign of Dantivarman. The numerical strength of the tank committee is nowhere stated, but that its members changed every year is known from the phrase 'avva-vāṇḍu-ērivāriyapperumakkaḷē'[58] i.e., the members of the tank committee for each year.

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55. S.I.I., Vol II, part V, page 521, line 29; and page 528, line 220.
56. Ep. Indica, Vol. V, p. 49.
57. Ep. Indica, Vol. V. 'Rāyakōṭa copper plate of Skandaśiṣya', p. 52.
58. 65 of 1898, S.I.I., Vol. VI.

The duties of this committee are apparent from its name and it was directly under the management of the village assembly, being entrusted by the latter with all the endowments made in favour of tanks. If the endowment consisted of gold, the committee undertook to invest the money in the best possible manner and according to the rate specified by the donor and with the income therefrom meet the expenses for dredging the tanks thrice in the year, in some cases twice and even every month as noted in the agreement. In the case of lands, the committee looked after their cultivation and utilised the income accordingly.

The Nature of the Endowments.

As observed above, the endowments for the maintenance of irrigation works consisted of cultivable lands, gold and paddy. I have already referred to an inscription from Guḍimallam[59] dated in the 49th year of Vijaya Dantivikramavarman registering the gift of land called 'Nandikuṇḍil' to the tank Veḷḷēri. Out of the produce of this land were to be met the charges for digging pits in the tanks and depositing the silt on the tank bund. Another inscription[60] of the same king dated in the ninth year speaks of an endowment of gold by a resident of Kaccippēḍu (Kāñcī) for dredging the Vairamēgha tank; the sabhā ordered that the proceeds of the endowment must, without being spent for any other purpose, be utilised every month by the Vāriyar of the year for dredging the tank (kuḻi-kuttuvadāga). On the southern wall of the Viṣṇu temple at Ukkal (Chingleput District) there is a record of the fifteenth year of Kampavarman[61] stating that the sabhā of Ukkal received 1000 kāḍi of paddy from Śaḍaiyan (a resident of the village) and agreed to collect 500 kāḍi yearly as interest on the 1000 kāḍi and hand it over to the annual committee (Samvatsara Vāriya perumakkaḷ). Dr. Hultzsch's translation of Ērikaṭṭi Ikuttuvippōnmānōm as "the closing of the sluice of the tank to collect water for irrigation" is not correct. It should be read "Ērikku aṭṭi Ikuttuvippōmānōm," in which case the sense would be that the sabhā undertook to collect and deliver to the annual committee the accrued interest of 500 kāḍi of paddy each year intended for the maintenance of the tank. Thus, there is no mention of the closing of any sluice.

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[59] Ep. Indica, Vol. XI, p. 225.

[60] 74 of 1898, S.I.I., Vol. VI, p. 166.

[61] S.I.I., Vol. III, part I, p. 9.

The Maintenance of the Vairamēgha Taṭāka.

The maintenance of this large tank, Vairamēgha, was a special feature of the administration of Uttiramērūr in the time of the later Pallavas and continued to be so in the early Cōḷa period. Great attention was bestowed upon it both by the tank committee and by the villagers themselves. Private endowments were made in the reign of Dantivarman and those of his successors. Since the Ceyyār which feeds the Uttiramērūr Taṭāka is a very impetuous river, it is apt to send into the tank large amounts of silt when it is in floods, so that we are not surprised to find a large number of inscriptions of Vijayakampavarman registering gifts in the name of the Vairamēgha Taṭāka.

No. 85 of 1898, dated in the eighth year of Kampavarman: The sabhā at Uttiramērūr ordered that some fines accruing from certain defaults were to be set apart for the Vairamēgha Taṭāka.

No. 11 of 1898: In the tenth year of Kampavarman a member of the ruling committee named Agniśarma Kramavittan Sōmayāji, gave a pāḍagam (240 kuḻis) to the south of Uttiramērūr, west of Paramēśvaravadi, and on the bank of the Gaṇapati Vāykkāl for the annual dredging of the Vairamēgha Taṭāka. The endowment was entrusted to the tank committee who undertook to manage the cultivation of the land and with the income therefrom, to dredge the tank.

No. 42 of 1898: One Aparājita of Toḻūrnāḍu, Īkkāḍu Kōṭṭam entrusted 100 kaḻañjus of gold to the sabhā at Uttiramērūr, in the 15th year of Kampavikramavarman, so that the annual interest therefrom, *i.e.*, 200 kaḻañjus (20 per cent.) might be utilised for dredging the Vairamēgha Taṭāka for three months in the year, beginning with Ānī.

No. 90 of 1898: In the 15th year of Kampavarman's reign, the Uttiramērūr sabhā received from Dēvandai Kaḻukkunṟan, 100 kaḻañjus of gold and 28 kāḍis of iṟai paddy, to be utilised for dredging the Vairamēgha tank. This inscription records that the sabhā of Uttiramērūr should let the money on interest at 10% and receive an interest of 3 kāḍis of paddy for the year on the 28 kāḍis. These 10 kaḻañjus of gold and the 3 kāḍis of paddy should suffice to meet the cost of labour for dredging the tank for two months every year from Vaikāśi.

No. 65 of 1898: In the 18th year of Kampavarman, the Uttiramērūr sabhā received 100 kaḻañjus of Ūrkkar śemmai gold from Manni Pākkilan of Terkkilangāḍi and also 20 manais. The sabhā entrusted the gift to the tank committee, which agreed to invest the money on a reasonable rate of 15% and utilise the income both from the gold and the land for dredging the Vairamēgha Taṭāka.

No. 84 of 1898: This is dated in the 21st year of Kampavarman registering the gift of 200 kaḻañjus of gold which was happily received by the sabhā from the local temple. The interest of 30 kaḻañjus on this 200 kaḻañjus was utilised for dredging the Vairamēgha Taṭāka and depositing the silt on the tank bund.

Administrative control of water supply.

Construction of channels for conducting water from rivers and tanks and the digging of large wells for purposes of irrigation was strictly under administrative control. If it was a private individual that wished to dig a tank for irrigating his fields, he had to get the formal sanction of the village administrative authority by paying a small sum of money which was known as 'Ulliyakkūli'[62] (Ulli = well diggers); and in the case of a whole village wishing to direct water from main canals and rivers, it had to get the permission of the central government. We find in the Kaśākuḍi plates the king, after granting the donees permission to dig river channels and inundation channels for conducting water from the Ceyyāṟu, Vehkā and the tank of Tiraiyan, strictly laid down the order that those, evidently the people in the neighbouring villages, "who take and use (the water) in these channels by pouring-out baskets, by cutting branch channels or by employing small levers, shall pay a fine to be taken by the king: "Ikkālkaḷil kūḍai iraittum kurangaṟuttum kuṟṟettam paṉṉiyum koṇḍār kokkoḷḷum daṇḍappaḍuvadāgavum."[63]

Another method by which administrative control of water supply was secured by the king was by the tax called 'Nērvāyam' which is mentioned among the parihāras of dēvadāna and brahmadāya villages. It was a tax on the excessive consumption of water. (Nēr—excessive; and Vāyam—water). It seems to be that each tenant or landlord was entitled to enjoy a certain legitimate quantity of water for irrigating his fields and any excess of water required by him was provided on the payment of a tax which was known by the name Nērvāyam,[64] and which in a sense may correspond to our meter tax.

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[62] S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, p. 352, line 122.

[63] Ibid., lines 118-119.

'Śennīrpodivi' occurs in a stone inscription of Nṛpatunga which records that a piece of land was endowed as an 'arcanābhōga' and several items of revenue therefrom were made over to the temple, among which 'śennīrpodivi'[65] is mentioned. This seems to be the same as 'śennīrveṭṭi' of the Anbil Plates of Sundara Cōḷa.[66]

'Śennīr' means 'fresh water', and 'podivi' may be considered to signify 'gathered or stored' by damming the water-ways. 'Veṭṭi' is clearly free labour. Thus while 'śennirveṭṭi' implies free labour on flood banks and temporary dams, 'śennīrpodivi' points to the storage of flood water in tanks, ponds and so on fed by channels from rivers.

In spite of this administrative control of water supply, we have already seen that enough and more encouragement was given to private individuals to construct works of irrigation. Each brahmadāya and dēvadāna village received not only permission to construct works of irrigation free of charge, but also necessary implements and lands to aid such undertaking. The brahmans in the Kaśākuḍi plates were provided with 'kolkalam' and 'puḻudipāḍu'—iron implements and dry lands for cutting out channels.[67]

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[64] Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam Plates. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, p. 124 and Kaṇḍiyūr Inscription of Nṛpatunga; 17 of 1895.

[65] Kaṇḍiyūr Inscription of Nṛpatunga.

[66] Ep. Ind. XV, p. 72.

[67] "Ikkālkaḷukku, kolkalamum puḻudipāḍum peruvadāgavum"—S.I.I., Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 352. Kol—working in iron, Kalam-weapon, Tamil Lexicon, Vol. II—University of Madras.

NOTE G.—*On the Antiquity of Ālambākkam.*

This is an ancient and important place, the history of which is easily deduced from its inscriptions. The village is situated twelve miles from Lālguḍi in the Trichinopoly district and is now known by the original name Ālambākkam. But it seems also to have been known by different names in the different periods of South Indian History. During the time of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, the village was known as Ālambākkam and continued to be so up to the 5th year of Dantivarman, for the Tiruveḷḷaṟai inscription of Dantivarman refers to Viśaiyanallūḻān of Ālambākkam whose brother built the well at Tiruveḷḷaṟai, a village not very far from Ālambākkam.

From the Cōḷa inscriptions (705 of 1909, 706 of 1909, 711 of 1909, 712 of 1909, 715 of 1909 and 720 of 1909) of the times of Rājakēsarivarman and Parakēsarivarman, we learn that the village of Ālambākkam was known as Dantivarmamangalam and that it was a Brahmadāya on the northern bank of the Kāvēri.

There are two inscriptions (Nos. 723 and 727 of 1909) from Ālambākkam, which contain references to Danti, though they cannot be said to belong to the time of Dantivarman on the basis of palaeography. In these two inscriptions Danti evidently cannot refer to the Pallava king of that name but to the deity of that same name. The Śiva shrine in the village is even today known by the name Dantīśvara.

Although these two inscriptions are later ones, yet they are important to us for they throw light on the origin of the Kailāsanātha temple of the place. Since it has already been proved that Ālambākkam was directly under the sway of the later Pallava kings and that we definitely trace the influence of Dantivarman on epigraphical evidences, it is certain that the Śiva temple of Ālambākkam was built by Dantivarman.

The name Dantivarmamangalam, the name of the linga, Dantīśvara, and the existence of the Māṟpiḍugu Ēri at Ālambākkam sufficiently point to the fact that the village of Ālambākkam attracted the attention of the Pallava king Danti, who not only built a shrine there and named the deity after himself, but also endowed lands to it.

CHAPTER VIII

FAMINES

An early reference to a famine in Kāñcī.

Despite the economic stability of the villages in the Pallava country, famines were not unknown in the history of the period. The prosperity of an agricultural country depends on its rainfall; untimely, insufficient or excessive rainfall over large areas is sure to usher in a severe famine, and South India has always been subject to these dangers.

The city of Kāñcī is described in the early work Maṇimēkalai [1] to have been severely affected by a famine owing to failure of rainfall. Maṇimēkalai, the Buddhist nun, was instructed to go to the city for the purpose of relieving the distress, and with her inexhaustible bowl she is said to have sustained all the living beings there. The incident, whose historicity we need not discuss at present, is said to have taken place when Kāñcī was still a Cōḷa viceroyalty and before the Pallavas established their power in the place.

The account in the Periyapurāṇam.[2]

More important to us is the account in the later work *Periyapurāṇam* of a severe famine in South India during the time of Appar and Sambandar. Let us narrate the event here. While Appar and Sambandar were residing in their respective mutts in Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, there was a devastating famine in the kingdom owing to insufficient rainfall and lack of floods in the Kāvēri as a result of which several lives suffered. Appar and Sambandar prayed for safety, and moved by their prayers, the God Śiva appeared before these two religious men and informed them that He would give each of them a few coins daily so that their followers might be fed. Accordingly, a few coins were seen every day on the eastern and western Pīṭhas of their respective mutts. With this money the two saints bought provisions and other articles and with the cooked food fed a number of Śaiva devotees. Sambandar once questioned his cooks as to how it was that the people in Appar's mutt were fed earlier than those in his own Mutt, to which they replied that the shop-keepers demanded a discount on the coins given by him whereas Appar's coins were accepted without any discount. Realising that the cause of this was that Appar was doing manual labour in addition to singing the praise of God, Sambandar resolved to pray that he might be served coins which would be accepted without discount. The next day he went into the temple and prayed until Śiva endowed him with the right coins. It is further observed in the text that the prayers of these two devotees eventually brought on showers of rain resulting in the final disappearance of the famine.

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[1] *Maṇimēkalai,* canto XXVIII.

[2] *Periyapurāṇam,* Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār Purāṇam, Verses 255, 256 —Śaiva Siddhānta.—Ed.

The basis of the above account.

This information about the famine and its consequences cannot be treated lightly, for they are based on the hymns of Appar and Sambandar. The latter's padigam sung before the God at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai which was then included in the Pallava kingdom contains not only an appeal to the deity of the place to favour him with coins that would be exchanged without discount, but also the Śaiva prodigy's prayers for safety and protection,[3] fully justifying the occasion and the event described in *Periyapurāṇam.*

The famine an after-effect of war.

We have enough reasons to believe that the Pallava kingdom was subject to an intensive famine about this time. Though the *Periyapurāṇam* describes the immediate cause of the famine as drought, the ultimate cause is not far to seek.

Destruction and poverty are the inevitable results of a long, continuous and serious fighting. The continuous warfare between the Cāḷukyas and the Pallavas, the wars of Narasimhavarman I against Pulikeśin II and those of Parameśvaravarman I against Vikramāditya I, though the last ended in a defeat of the Cāḷukyan king at Peruvaḷanallūr, produced many unhappy results, especially on the economic stability of the kingdom. One can imagine the intensity of the fighting when one reads the description of the battle of Peruvaḻanallūr in the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I.[4]

[3] "Vāśi tīravē kāśu nalguvīr
Māśin Miḻalaiyīr, yēśalillayē"
"Kāman vevavōr tūmakkaṇṇinīr
Nāmam Miḻalaiyīr, ṣēmam nalgume,"
(Śaiva Siddhānta.—Ed., p. 148).

[4] S.I.I., Vol I, page 145 et seq.

This general exhaustion of the state after these wars, added to the temporary failure of rainfall, brought about a famine, the acuteness of which is well attested by the literary work, *Avantisundarī kathā,* which describes the evils of foreign inroads and famine in the Pallava country. The poet Daṇḍin, [5] the contemporary of Rājasimha and the great grandson of the illustrious scholar and poet Bhāravi, narrates[6] :—

"While the Tamil, the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries became disturbed by affliction from enemy rule, family women were violated, Agnihōtras were stopped, the granaries became empty, householders were driven out ...., honour was destroyed, rows of trees and gardens were devastated, water troughs were dismantled, sacrificial sheds were destroyed, the rich were killed, roads became bad ...... while Kali was the sole monarch, Daṇḍin, the son of Kausiki, his relations dead and lost, deserted by his followers, with no means of livelihood, with his purse becoming scanty on account of famine ...... wandered all over the country" etc.[7]

The Kathāsāra sums up the whole description in a single verse:—

"Savikriyē purē tasmin para cakroparōdhataḥ
Sa cacārā śubhācāraḥ sarvā murvīmudāradhīḥ".[8]

We need hardly doubt that the pathetic condition of Southern India and its capital Kāñcī described in the *Avantisundarī kathā* was really the consequence of the Pallava-Cāḷukya fighting, and the Pallava country must have been a victim to this famine sometime towards the end of the 7th century A.D.

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[5] See, however, Keith—*Sanskrit Literature,* pp. XVI-XVII, for another view of the Kathā—K.A.N.

[6] Tasmin ca antarē paracakra pīḍayā paryākulēṣu Dramiḷa Cōḷa Pāṇḍyēṣu, parāmṛṣṭāsu kulavadhūṣu, viratēṣvagnihōtreṣu viluptēṣu dhānyakūṭeṣu, vidrutēṣu kuḍumbiṣu Jṛmbhitēṣva—bhinnāsu maryādāsu, chinnāsvārāmapanktiṣu, bhagnāṣu sabhāprāpāsu paryāstāsu satraśālāsu, nihateṣu dhaniṣu, prahatēṣu kāpatheṣu(?) Dramiḷēṣva—iva kalau kārayatyēkarājyam, uparatapraṇaṣṭa bandhuvargaḥ, pradrutaprāyaparijanaḥ, pravṛttavṛttikṣayō durbhikṣakṣīṇakōśaḥ, Kauśikadārako Daṇḍī—dēśāntarāṇyabhramat. Avasacca ciramabhilaṣitēṣu gurukulēṣu, alabhata cānavadyām vidyām," etc.

[7] The text was copied from the palm-leaf manscript in the possession of Mr. Kavi. The published text does not contain this description in all its details.

[8] Kathāsāra Text—. 4.

Confirmation from an unexpected and authentic source.

Sylvain Lévi, while writing about the missions of Wāng Hiuen Tse in India, has occasion to refer to Vajrabōdhi, the master of Amōghavajra, and the former's visit to Ceylon and South India. It is an incident in the life of this Vajrabōdhi that confirms not only our internal evidences for the prevalence of the famine but also fixes definitely the date of this critical period in the economic history of the Pallavas. I shall translate below Sylvain Lévi's account of the life of Vajrabōdhi: [9]

"Vajrabōdhi was the third son of a Kṣatriya king of Central India, Īśānavarman. If the other biographies make him a Brahman from Malaya, it is because he came to the Court of China with an embassy from that country. I do not know who this king Iśānavarman could be. It seems difficult to identify him with the prince of that name mentioned in the inscription of Aphsad as the contemporary and the unfortunate rival of Kumāragupta of Maghada. Vajrabōdhi was born in 661. Vajrabōdhi studied at Nāḷandā until he was 26 years of age.

" Then he made his way as a pilgrim as far as Kapilavāstu in 689 and he turned towards Southern India the centre of the cult of Avalōkitēśvara. The king of Kāñcī had been suffering for three years from a terrible disaster ; the king Narasimhapōtavarman implored the help of the pious-minded Vajrabōdhi, who, by means of prayers, brought on rain.

" A vision ordered him to visit Ceylon and to go and worship Manjūśrī in the middle Empire. He crossed the sea and was solemnly received in Ceylon. There he worshiped the holy relics, particularly the tooth that had been put in the Abhayarāja Vihāra where he stayed for six months. Then he departed towards South-east in order to go to Lankāpura.......

" Vajrabōdhi resumed then the road to South India and was there received with as great honour and pomp as on his first passage through the kingdom. He explained to the king his desire to go to China and adore Manjūśrī and propagate the doctrine. The king tried to turn him from it, alleging the extreme difficulty of the voyage; finally he yielded to his arguments and decided that an ambassador should go conforming to precedents to carry presents to the Emperor. He ordered the general in chief Mi-tcoun-na to offer in his name a copy in Sanskrit of the Mahā prajñā pārāmitā, jewels, stuffs and perfumes. The departure took place with great pomp. Vajrabōdhi invoked, facing the West, Manjūśrī, and facing the East, Avalōkatēśvara. The mission put out to sea, was saluted on its departure by the king, the ministers and the multitude. It halted first at Ceylon, which it reached in twenty-four hours at the port of Pō-tchi-li. Thirty-five Persian vessels were already there, having gone there to exchange precious jewels. As soon as the Persian merchants saw Vajrabōdhi, they followed him in his foot-steps. The king of Ceylon, Śrī-Śaila, hearing of the return of the master, invited him to stay in his palace. After a month's stay, Vajrabōdhi obtained the king's leave and he left, still followed by the faithful Persian merchants. A month's sailing brought them to Bhōja ('Fuchē'); the king came before the mission and presented it with a golden parasol and a golden bed. The end of the voyage was disastrous. All the merchants' boats were scattered by the tempest. Only the vessel which carried Vajrabōdhi reached the Port. After a very long series of reverses (misfortunes) he landed at Kanton and took the road from there to the eastern capital where he arrived in 720."

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[9] The text is in French. *Journal Asiatique* 1900 May-June, pages 418 to 421.

Sylvain Lévi fails to identify Īśānavarman, the father of this interesting personality, Vajrabōdhi. Since we have here the dates of Vajrabōdhi, he could not have been the son of the Maukahri King Īśānavarman who ruled about 554 A.D. We know that an Īśānavarman was the king of Kambūja in the early parts of the 7th century A.D. He is said to have sent an embassy to China in 616 A.D. and Hieun Tsang says that Īśānavarman, resided in Īśānapura. The Chinese chronicles state that Īśānavarman made extensive conquests and that his kingdom included thirty towns and that he had a magnificent court. It may be that a part of the Malaya Peninsula was included within his kingdom. However, we have no definite proofs to assert that Vajrabōdhi was a son of this Īśānavarman. One valuable point which Lévi has not added in his appendix on the life of Vajrabōdhi is furnished by Watters in his translation of Hieun Tśāng. According to him, Chapter I of Sung-Kao-Seng Chuan contains the following information about Vajrabōdhi: "The Great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in A.D. 719 is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Pōtalaka, the place of Kuan-Yin, his father being preceptor of the king of Kāñcī."[10] This Īśānavarman or the father of the well-known Buddhist Vajrabōdhi and the Preceptor of King of Kāñcī, evidently a Pallava king, must remain for the present in obscurity until more information is forthcoming, probably from the Chinese sources themselves, to identify him with some certainty.

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[10] Yuan Chwang—Watters. Vol. II, p. 231.

Let us now concentrate on the passage which connects with his contemporary South Indian king. The above account from the life history of the Buddhist undoubtedly speaks of a drought as a consequence of which there was a famine and suffering in the kingdom under Narasimhapōtavarman who must be identified with one of the two Pallava kings, either with Narasimhavarman I or Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rājasimha.

The period of famine, according to the Chinese text, was between 686 to 689, i.e., a period of three years. On the strength of the Gadwal plates,[11] it is assumed that Paramēśvaravarman I must have fought the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr against the Cāḷukyan king in the year 674 A.D. If this was the case, Mahēndravarman II, the predecessor of Paramēśvaravarman I must have ended his rule sometime before 673 A.D. We know that Mahēndravarman II ruled only for a very short time and that Narasimhavarman I had a long reign; therefore, we may safely give to the latter the dates 630 to 668, a rule of 38 years. Even adopting these dates, it is not possible to place the famine in the reign of Narasimhavarman I, for there is at least a difference of fifteen years between the last dates of Narasimhavarman I and the period of famine as fixed by the Chinese account. On the other hand the reign of Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rājasimha has been approximately placed between 680 to 722 A.D. and the famine then falls in the very beginning of his rule.

We have now to answer the question whether Appar and Sambandar lived as late as the beginning years of Rājasimha's reign since we have concluded that the famine infested the country about that time. We are aware that Appar had a long life of nearly eighty years and that Sambandar was his very much younger contemporary.[12] Circumstances point out clearly that Appar was a young man when he was the victim of the persecutions of Mahēndravarman I.

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[11] Ep. Indica, Vol. X, p. 100.

[12] Apparukkeṇbattoṉṟaruḷvādavūraṟkkuc
Ceppiyanāleṭṭiniṟṟeyvīka—mippuviyil
Sundaraṟkku mūvāṟutoljñānasambandarkkandam
Pandināṟaṟi."

Granting that he was about twenty years of age when Mahēndravarman's rule ended in 630 or in 632 A.D., Appar must have taken leave of this world about ten or twelve years after Rājasimha's accession to the throne. Further we have Sambandar's own words that Śiṟuttoṇḍar and himself were contemporaries.[13] Sambandar must have come in contact with Śiṟuttoṇḍar only after the latter's military exploits against the Cāḷukyas and the destruction of Vātāpi which took place sometime in 643 A.D. It follows that Śiṟuttoṇḍar was a comparatively young man when he was rendering his services to the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. Again, we have the evidence that Sambandar was a contemporary of Kūn Pāṇḍyan whom we have reasons to identify with Arikēsari Parānkuśa Māṟavarman who ascended the throne about 670 A.D. and ruled until 710 A.D.[14] Without rejecting the the traditional age of Sambandar as sixteen, we may maintain that he met the Pāṇḍyan king about the year 690 A.D., when he (Sambandar) was about 10 years of age. On the basis of these facts we may conclude that Appar, Sambandar and Śiṟuttoṇḍar lived in the early years of the rule of Rājasimha and that they witnessed the evil consequences of the said famine.

The immediate effects of the famine.

It did not take the Pallava kingdom very long to recover from this adverse fortune as the activities in the later years of Rājasimha's rule and those of his successors will prove. But the misfortune, though temporary, did have its immediate effects, especially on the literary and artistic activities of the period. Daṇḍin, the contemporary poet, remarks that the kingdom was thoroughly disorganised, that the capital city was abandoned and men of literary talents left the court poverty stricken and wandered about from place to place, and the *Avantisundarī kathā* makes clear that Dandin himself was one among them. It was during his wanderings that Daṇḍin acquired his knowledge of Śāstras and faultless learning in various Āśramas. When the Pallava kingdom recovered from this unhappy condition and regained its lost glory, Daṇḍin returned to Kāñcī and, having acquired his lost estates, maintained his literary prestige in the Pallava court. It was then that he composed his *Avantisundarī kathā.*

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[13] In the last verse of a hymn celebrating his friend's native village of Śengāṭṭangudi, Sambandar very distinctly utters the fact that it was composed at the special request of Śiṟuttoṇḍar.

[14] Professor K. A. Nilakaṇṭa Śāstri, "*Pāṇḍyan Kingdom,*" p. 57.

That the famished state of the kingdom had affected badly the literary activities of the Pallavas is fully confirmed by the statement in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates wherein Rājasimha (Narasimhavarman II) is represented to have reorganised the Ghaṭikā of the twice born.[15]

As in the field of literature, so it was in that of art and architecture. Shaping the rocks into specimens of beauty, the fashion of the day, cannot be considered to have been an easy task. Skilled workmen had to be maintained which involved expense. The Mahāmallapuram excavations which began in the time of Mahēndravarman I and were in full swing under Narasimhavarman I had to be abandoned when the king was assailed by enemies and there ensued a famine. One cannot deny the unfinished nature of some of the monuments in Mahāmallapuram. These, as James Fergusson has already remarked,[16] "are left with one-third or one-fourth merely blocked out and in some instances with the intention merely indicated." (Pl. I, fig. 2.)

Rājasimha, the next great builder after Narasimhavarman I, relieving the kingdom from the said trouble, directed his activities towards architecture. For reasons not known to us, he did not seek to complete the unfinished works, but instead, being naturally inclined towards structural monuments created lofty shrines for the moon-crested Śiva in Kāñcī and its neighbourhood.

Protection against famines.

Though we have not any on record, it seems likely that the period of Pallava rule saw a few more famines. Among the prudent measures taken to overcome such difficulties, first and foremost come the extensive irrigation works undertaken by the state as well as by private individuals. In this connection we have to indicate the value of the suggestion of Professor Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri regarding the tax or levy called 'Pañcavāra'. He writes: "Pañcavāra seems to have been some kind of a tax or levy, the exact nature of which is not clear, though the suggestion may be ventured that it might have been meant to provide against famine (pañjam). The duties of the Pañcavāra committee were perhaps connected with its assessment and collection. The discovery of the real nature of 'Pañcavāra' antiquates Venkayya's suggestion that

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15. S.I.I., Vol II, part V, p. 508. "Tatputra sūnur Narasimhavarmā punarvyadhādyō ghaṭikām dvijānām."

16. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 328.

originally every village had only five committees, that it was the duty of the ‘pañcavāra vāriyam’ to supervise their work and that the name was kept on even after the number of committees to be supervised became more than five.”[17]

It seems to me that ‘Pañcavāra’ should be understood as (Vāra=share; and Pañja=famine) share towards famine and ‘Pañjavāra vāriyam’ should be taken to be the committee in charge of the administration of the famine fund or provisions set aside towards famine. In the light of a reference to ‘Pañcavāram’ found in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III, it looks as if the village as a unit was responsible for providing against famine. The plates have ‘Tirukkāṭṭupaḷḷi Pañcavāram Āyirakkāḍi’[18] that is, Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi which provides thousand kāḍi of paddy against famine. The levy Pāñcavāram would then mean that each landlord of the village had to set apart a portion of his produce towards the village famine fund. Thus we have the Pañcavāra in the sense of a tax or levy.

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[17] *Studies in Cōḷa History*—pp. 142-143.

[18] S.I.I., Vol. II, part V—p. 509 and p. 512. Krishna Śāstri translates the passage thus: “Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi of Pañcavāram āyirakkāḍi” and adds in a note (page 512, note 3) “i.e., whose yield under the head Pañchavāram was one thousand kāḍi of paddy. Pañchavaram may be a mistake for Pañchavāram, ‘the five vārams or income in grain’ cf. the terms mēl-vāram, kuḍi-vāram etc., which are still in use. See also Ep. Indica, Vol. V, p. 138, foot-note 7”; Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, however, commenting on the same passage, thinks: “The expression ‘Pañchavār’ would mean the five who had the administrative control of the village. We often come upon expressions like this in later inscriptions very frequently, and the fact of this term occurring in Pallava inscriptions would indicate that perhaps in regard to rural administration the features that we know of from among the Chola inscriptions very frequently were also the features of Pallava rural administration.”—*Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 125.

CHAPTER IX

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Our material for a study of this subject is very scanty. The Yuvamahārāja was sometimes placed at the head of a provincial government as in the case of the Yuvamahārāja of the Mayidavōlu grant[1] who issues an order to his official at Dhānyakaṭa which must have been a provincial seat of Government under the early Pallavas.

Officers of the district are mentioned in the early Pallava grants. These consisted of Āyuktakas, and Adhyakṣas—Superintendents who were directly placed under the control of the Central Government.

The names of officers found in the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi and in the other early charters and the feature of the Government indicated therein lead us to infer that the working of the government of the provinces and the districts resembles the Mauryan and the Gupta administrative system rather than the type of Government that prevailed in the south.

The development of local self-governing institutions such as the Sabhā or the Assembly was a later growth in the Tamil land under the Pallavas. In fact we do not hear of village assemblies earlier than the 8th century A.D., but from the time of Nandivarman Pallava Malla we can definitely trace the growth of the village assembly and its committees from a study of stone inscriptions.

Side by side with the working of the village subhā we also have references to other assemblies such as the assembly of the Nāḍu and the Ūr to which we shall refer presently. The village was the smallest unit of Government in the Tamil land under the Pallavas.

The Assembly of the Nāḍu.

It is clear that Nāḍu is an administrative unit larger than the village and smaller than the Kōṭṭam. In an inscription probably of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, from the Nellore District dated in the fifteenth regnal year we have the statement that the Naṭṭār, Ūrār and Aḷvār, by common consent, gave, at the order of Cāḷukya araśar, certain kalañjus of gold to the God Subramaṇya of the village[2]—" Aḷuva araśar Viṇṇappattāl Śaḷukki araśarāṇattiyāga paṇittōm, Naṭṭārum, Ūrārum, Āḷvārum, aramaṟaṟka." Here the Naṭṭār and the Ūrār cannot stand by any means for the whole population of the Nāḍu or the Ūr ; therefore, they may be considered as assemblies consisting of the intelligent and distinguished men of the respective locality, having the power to deliberate over questions of public importance.

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[1] Ep. Ind. Vol. 6.

The Āḷvār of this epigraph may very well correspond to the Aḷunganattār, that is the ruling committee which we shall meet with in discussing the various committees of the village constitution.

One may well compare the Nāṭṭār with the Janapada which, according to Mr. Jayaswal, was a constitutional assembly that served as a check to provincial autocracy.[3] The importance of the Nāṭṭār as a political body was well recognised in the days of Pallava Malla and his successors. In the Kaśākuḍi plates we have a royal order directly addressed to the men of the Nāḍu (*Kōnōlai*) " Uṟṟukkāṭṭukkōṭṭattu Nāṭṭārum kāṇka." The Nāṭṭar were ordered to transfer a particular village named Koḍukoḷḷi as a Brahmadēya to a certain Brāhman. The Nāṭṭār, after seeing the king's order, removed the former owners of the village, excluded (previous) grants to temples and to Brahmans, excluded the houses (of the ryots), walked along the boundaries which the headman of the Nāḍu pointed out, circumambulating the village from right to left, planted stones and milk bush around—"Tirumugam kaṇḍu Nāṭṭōm Nāṭṭu viyavan śolliya ellai pōy paḍāgai valam śeydu kallum kaḷḷiyum nāṭṭikkoḍuttadaṟkellai ".[4]

Again, in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates, the Tirumugam regarding the gift of the village to the 308 Brahmans is addressed to the Nāṭṭār—" Śōḻa Nāṭṭu tenkarai Naṟaiyūr Nāṭṭu Nāṭṭār kāṇka " which Krishṇa Śāstri translates into : " The inhabitants of tenkaṟai Naṟaiyūr-nāḍu in Sōṛa-nāḍu[5] witnessing." Once again, we have to emphasise the fact that 'Nāṭṭār' does not mean the inhabitants of the Nāḍu in general, but it refers to the assembly of the Nāḍu. Naṟaiyūr evidently stands for Tirunaṟaiyūr near Taṇḍantōṭṭam. The significance of 'Tenkarai' is borne out by the fact that

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[2] *Inscriptions of the Nellore District, part* I, p. 429.

[3] Jayaswal *"Hindu Polity"* ch. XXVII, p. 62 et seq. See also Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri's views on this—*Studies*, p. 78 et seq.

[4] S.I.I., Vol. II, part III, 109-110.

[5] Cōḷa Nāḍu in Pallava Epigraphy always indicates the Tamil districts on the banks of the Kāvēri.

Tirunaṟaiyūr is situated on the southern bank of Araśilār. It is interesting to find that Taṇḍantōṭṭam[6] which is situated to the north of Araśilār was included in the Tirunaṟaiyūr Nāḍu.

A similar order to Nāṭṭār is also contained in the Paṭṭattāḷ-mangalam plates of Pallava Malla—" Nāṭṭāṟkku viṭṭa tirumugan-nāṭṭār toḻudu talaikku-vaitt-ell (ai) pōy-kkallun-kaḷḷiyun-nāṭṭi paḍagai valañ-jeydu nāṭṭār viḍutta aṟaiyōlaippaḍi...." etc. Here we have to note the difference between ' tirumugam ' and ' aṟaiyōlai '. ' Tirumugam ' is generally understood to be a royal order and is synonymous with kōnōlai of our epigraphy. On ' aṟaiyōlai ' K. V. S. Aiyar comments[7] : " As 'aṟai' means 'to beat' and 'Ōlai' 'a (written) palm leaf ' we may take the compound ' aṟaiy-ōlai ' to mean ' the draft whose contents had to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom '. In fact, it seems to be a more plausible explanation of ' aṟai-ōlai ' if we take ' aṟai[8] in the sense of ' an assigned portion of an area ' and interpret the term as ' the deed (palm leaf) containing the details regarding the assignment of the gift which is here a specified number of velis of land. The charter makes it clear that it was the assembly of the Nāḍu that issued the ' aṟai-ōlai '.

From the above notices we clearly see the significant place of the Nāṭṭār in the rural administrative system of the later Pallavas.

The Assembly of Ūr.

Discussing the rural administration in the Cōḷa period, Professor Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri observes : ' Many villages appear to have had an assembly called Ūr. So far, we have not come across any evidence on the details of the organization of this type of assembly. It appears to have been a kind of primitive gathering of the local people, the descendant of the earlier Tamil manṟam, in which people met together and managed business somehow without any set rules or formal procedure."[9]

It must be admitted that much of what is contained in the above quotation applies to the Ūrār—the assembly of the Ūr in the later Pallava inscriptions. We do lack information regarding the details of the organization of the assembly of the Ūr, but we have

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[6] I have visited Taṇḍantōṭṭam. Now it is a small village with a few Brahman houses.

[7] Ep. Ind. XVIII; p. 119.

[8] Tamil Lexicon.

[9] " *Studies in Cōḷa History* ", p. 77-78.

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more than one reference in Pallava epigraphy to the working of the assembly of the Ūr in combination with the village sabhā.[10]

The Village Sabhā.

The village assembly was variously known as sabhā and mahāsabhā. Its members are often referred to, as 'Perumakkaḷ, great men. We come across as many as 20 sabhās at work in the Tamil districts under the later Pallava kings. Each of these sabhās was placed in charge of several kinds of work. They were in charge of temple endowments and irrigation works, looked after the agricultural lands in the village and also administered local justice. They controlled as a body a number of committees of vāriyams and carried on the village administration by means of these.

To have an idea of the kind of work executed by the sabhā we shall just take one or two of them and specify the details of work.

Sabhā at Tengangudi.

Tengangudi is a village near Lālguḍi in the Trichinopoly District and its sabhā is mentioned for the first time in an inscription of Nṛpatungavarman[11] dated in his twenty-sixth year. The inscription is a deed of sale by the sabhā who registered the gift in the name of Śiva (Mahadēva) at Tiruttavatturai in Iḍaiyārunāḍu. The sabhā of Tengangudi pledged themselves to the Pan-Māhēśvaras that they would pay a fine of 500 kāṇam if they failed to carry out the details regarding the gift which was placed under the protection of the Pan-Māhēśvaras. The sabhā exempted the field from the following burdens: "eccōṟu", "veṭṭivēdinai" and "śennīrveṭṭi" and made it tax-free by accepting gold.

Sabhā of Nāraṇakkaccaturvēdimangalam.

This Brahman village was evidently situated in the Kumbakonam Taluk of the Tanjore District as known from an inscription dated in the 24th year of Nṛpatungavarman from Tirukōṭīśvara temple in Tirukkōḍikāval.[12] The sabhā of Nāraṇakkaccaturvēdimangalam received gold (15 kaḻañjus) from a Pallava feudatory chief, Koṇḍa Nāḍuḍaiya Veṭṭuvadi araiyarāna Mallan Vēngaḍan and agreed to supply the temple arcaka with two Nāḻis of ghee for a nondāviḷakku in the Śiva temple. The money was deposited in the hands of the sabhā who agreed to invest it out on interest.

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[10] Uḷalūr inscription of Nandivarman and the inscriptions of Nṛpatunga in S.I.I., Vols. IV and V.

[11] 84 of 1892, published in S.I.I., Vol. IV.

[12] 22 of 1930-31.

The Sabhā of Uttiramerur.

Uttiramērūr was one of the villages which had its sabhā developed very early. In fact the earliest reference to a village assembly is found in the Uttiramērūr inscriptions. The details of the working of the sabhā in this village have been already described by several scholars.[13]

Sabhā at Tiruttaṇi.

We have only a single Pallava inscription from Tiruttaṇi and it is dated in the eighteenth regnal year of Aparājitavarman.[14] It mentions the sabhā at Tiruttaṇi which received gold from a private individual for exempting a piece of land from future taxation and registered the gift in the name of the Śiva temple at Tiruttaṇi. Though the endowment was entrusted to a body called dharmis (endowments commission of Tiruttaṇi) it was placed under the vigilant care and supervision of the sabhā—" Ivvūr Dharmikaḷōm Sabhaiyār kaḍaikākṣiyāga ipparisu śeydu koṇḍōmānōm ". The inscription definitely says that the sabhā had the authority to question the Dharmikaḷ if they failed to utilise the gift according to the agreement contained in the deed. That justice and fairness was assured by the members of the sabhā is evident by the words " iddharma cintanai irukkinra Tiruttaṇiyil sabhaiyār śrī pādam yen talai mēlana ".

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

Village Committees.

It is generally presumed that the Committee system of village administration came into force in South India in the first half of the 10th century A.D., but a careful scrutiny of the Tamil records of the Pallavas reveals that Village Committees existed as early as the

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[13] Particular reference may be made to the exhaustive study of Uttiramērūr administration made by Professor Sastri in his *Studies in Cōḷa history*.

Sabhās were at work in the Pallava period in the following places: Uttiramērūr, Tiruvippurambēḍu. Peṟunguḷi, Kūram, Veṇkuṉṟam, Viḍelviḍuga caturvēdimangalam, Anbil, Perumbuliyūr, Maṇali, Avaninārāyaṇa caturvēdimangalam, Śīyapuram, Muttai, Pulvanūr, Tenganguḍi, Tiruttaṇi, Adambakkam, Ukkal and Caturvēdimangalam.

[14] 435 of 1905.

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middle of the 8th century A.D. The detailed executive work of several large villages since the time of Nandivarman Pallava Malla was carried on by Vāriyams and Gaṇas. Uttiramērūr Caturvēdimangalam, Ukkal, Avani Nārāyaṇa Caturvēdimangalam and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the Chingleput district and Tiruvippurambēḍu in the North Arcot district were some of the villages that were administered by committees in the later days of Pallava rule.

Vāriyam.

It is usually accepted that 'Vāriyam' means a committee. Several valuable suggestions[15] have been put forth to explain the term in this sense, yet none of them elucidates satisfactorily the derivation of vāriyam in the sense of a Committee for village administration. However, there seem to be three possible derivations for 'Vāriyam' in the above sense. Firstly, it might have been derived from the word 'Vāram' which means share or 'paṅgu' in Tamil.[16] Then, Vāriyar will be those that share, and Vāriyam will stand for a group or a committee of Vāriyar. Since the village assembly delegated a part of its duties to each of the groups of Vāriyar and all the Vāriyams together shared the multifarious work of the assembly or Perumakkaḷ, it is likely that Vāriyam came to mean a committee of the assembly, because the former shared the duties of village administration.

When specific duties were assigned to each of these Committees, then each Vāriyam came to be known by the name of the special duty which it performed. Thus for example, we have "ēri vāriya perumakkaḷ", that is the Committee of the assembly in charge of tanks (irrigation in general) and "tōṭṭa vāriya perumakkaḷ", that is the Committee of the assembly which looked after public gardens.

Another possible suggestion for the derivation of 'Vāriyam' is found in the Sanskrit word 'Vāra'[17] which means a collection (samūha) or a group (gaṇa). In this it may correspond to the other body known as Ālunganattār.

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[15] Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri, after clearly pointing out the various possible interpretations of Vāriyam in the different contexts, suggests that in a particular context Vāriyam may be understood in the sense of 'collection of dues or taxes.' *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, p. 133.

[16] See Ellis "*Mirasi Right*"—p. 25, 61 & 64.

[17] Vāra—a multitude, large number ; as in 'Vārayuvati.' Apte, S. Dic.

Yet another derivation may be from the Sanskrit root 'Vṛ'[18] meaning to choose or to select. Vārya[19] is one who is chosen and Vāryam is a group of selected men. Vāryam in Sanskrit becomes Vāriyam in Tamil. We have a very early use of the word Vāryam in the sense of choosing. The Ṛg Vēda[20] contains several passages where Vāryam has the meaning 'to choose'. But the inscription which supports our inference that vāriyam is derived from the root 'vṛ' is a Tamil record of Kulōttunga III dated in the 12th year.[21] It contains the statement: "Varaṇañjeyya varaṇam iḍumiḍattu ivvāṇḍaikku munbu Varaṇañjjeyyādārilum nārpadu vayasukku mē....Iḍakkaḍavadāyapperavēṇumenṟu."

Here we cannot but understand Varaṇam in the sense of selecting or choosing proper men with the necessary qualifications to be members of the Vāriyam.[22] Thus it seems convincing to derive Vāriyam from the Sanskrit root 'Vṛ.'

The Nature of Vāriyams and Their Duties.

Though we get detailed information regarding the qualifications of members and the method of election to the Vāriyams in a few Cōḷa inscriptions, the Pallava inscriptions are silent about these points. Uttiramērūr provides us with one of the earliest references to village vāriyams in the Pallava period. An inscrip-

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18. Vṛ—to choose, select, choose for one's self. Monier Williams, p. 1007. Vāra—m (fr. vr. vr.) choice. (See Vāri vrita) anything chosen or choice—Varayitṛ, m. 'chooser' a husband.

19. Vārya—fit to be chosen. Panini III, p. 101.

20. Ṛg Vēda: Vāryam—1-26, 8; 81, 9; 139, 10; III 8, 7; 21, 2; IV 53, 1; V, 6, 3; 6; 16, 5; 17, 5; 35, 8; 41, 13; 48, 5; VI 15, 6; VII 15, 11; 12; 16, 5; 42, 4; VIII 22, 18; 25, 13; 43, 33; IX 35, 3; X 17, 7; 4, 2; 64, 15; 133, 2: Vāryasya—VII 24, 6; VIII 44, 18; Vāryeṇ—X, 27, 12; Vāryāṇam—1, 5, 2; 24, 3; VI, 5, 3; VIII, 71.

21. Ayyampēṭṭai, 133 of 1923.

22. An inscription of the 35th year of Mārañjadaiyan is said to contain the following statement: "Muḻuc-cirāvaṇai-illādārai evvakaippaṭṭa Vāriyamum ēraṇḍapperādārāgavum," that is to say no kind of Vāriyam shall permit any one not having a full share either to get into it or even to approach it. Again, we find in another Cōḷa inscription that only those who are proficient in Mantras and Brahmaṇas shall be fit to work in the Vāriyam: "Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallārey vāriyam śeyvārāgavum." These evidences are enough to show that the members of the committee were chosen with great care. Only those who had all the required qualifications were hopeful of serving in the Committee.—Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstrī, *Studies in Cōḷa History*, p. 82.

tion[23] dated in the 9th year of Dantivarman records a private endowment for dredging the Vairamēgha tank every month. The sabhā of Uttiramērūr received the grant and ordered that the Vāriyar at that time should utilise the proceeds of the endowment without spending it on any other object :—" Sabhaiyōmum marṟu viniyōgam śeyyādē avvākkālattu vāriyarē māsandōrum kuḻi kuttuvadāgavum paṇittōm."

'Avvākkāḻattu Vāriyar' must be understood as the Committee selected for the time being, perhaps the year. In the later Tamil inscriptions from Uttiramērūr we find that it is the Tank Committee—Ēri Vāriya Perumakkaḷ—that looked after all the duties regarding irrigation and tanks. The mention simply of ' Vāriyar ' in this inscription probably indicates that the Committee System did not acquire that specialisation which is a characteristic feature of Uttiramērūr administration in the Cōḷa period.

In the reign of Dantivarman's grandson Nṛpatungavarman, we again hear of the Committees at Uttiramērūr. An inscription[24] from the village dated in the 16th year of Nṛpatungavarman speaks of the 'vāriyaperumakkaḷ' which took charge of the gold (fifteen kaḻañjus) endowed by a lady—Harinandi Maṇavāṭṭi Piḍāri—to the temple at Tiruppulivalam in Uttiramērūr Caturvēdimangalam.

It is only when we come to the time of Kampavarman that we have more than one specialised Committee at work, very similar to those found in the Cōḷa period about the first half of the 10th century A.D. The annual Committee ' Samvatsara Vāriya Perumakkaḷ "[25] is mentioned in an inscription of Kampavarman dated in his 15th year from the village of Ukkal in the Chingleput District.[26] Under the orders of the sabhā at Ukkal the Samvatsaravāriyaperumakkaḷ received from an individual by name Śaḍaiyan, a thousand kāḍi of paddy and agreed to supply as interest on this, five hundred kāḍis of paddy annually and utilise the same for maintaining a tank. It is interesting to find that here the annual committee take charge of the supervision of tanks which was really the duty of the 'Ēri vāriya perumakkaḷ.'

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[23] 74 of 1898. Text published in S.I.I., Vol. VI, p. 167.

[24] 63 of 1898.

[25] Dr. Mookerji speaking about the Cōḷa village government remarks about this particular Committee—' Annual Committee '—(Samvatsara Vāriyam): This seems to have been the most important influential and dignified of all the Committees. This is evident from the fact that the election of this Committee precedes that of all other committee and also from the characterisation of its personnel. Only 'those who had (previously) been on the garden Committee" and on the "tank Committee", those who are advanced in learning and those who are advanced in age shall be chosen for the "annual Committee." Thus the annual Committee was constituted by the cream of the community, men of ripe old age, mature wisdom, experience in administration, and possessing culture and learning. The number of the Committee was fixed at twelve. The Committee is also called the Committee of annual supervision (Samvatsara grāma Kāryam) in Nos. 466 and 467 of 1912. (Madras Ep. Rep. 1913), a designation which points to its superior status among the other Committees.—" *Local Government in Ancient India*", First edn., pp. 150-51.

The Tank Committee of Uattiramērūr was well-organised by the time of Kampavarman and we have several inscriptions of his reign giving us details of the work of this special Vāriyam.[27] The first record dated in the 10th year of Kampavarman registers the gift of a piece of land by a member of the ruling committee in favour of the Vairamēgha taṭāka at Uttiramērūr. The Tank Committee took charge of the gift and agreed to utilise it according to the statement contained in the deed.

The next record which is dated in the 18th year of Kampavarman tells us that the Tank Committee, under the orders of the village sabhā, received gold and land from a private individual and agreed to spend the interest yearly, for dredging the Vairamēgha taṭāka. Here we have the statement Avvavāṇḍu ēri-vāriyapperumakkaḷē, which means the members of the Tank Committee for each year. Thus it is clear that there was an annual election of the Tank Committee giving opportunities for fresh members to get in and serve in the committee.

Yet another inscription dated in the 21st year of Kampavarman furnishes us the information that the sabhā at Uttiramērūr received two hundred kaḻañjus of gold from a private individual and placed it in the hands of the Tank Committee who undertook to look after the dredging of the Vairamēgha tank yearly with the accrued interest which amounted to thirty kaḻañjus of gold.

Gaṇas.

Besides the Vāriyams, we have village committees known by the name 'Āḷungaṇattār.' A gaṇa is a group, collection or a corporation of a few men who have a common purpose.[28] We have instances of the use of Gaṇa in relation to religious corporations, craft-guilds and associations of a political character. In the Jaina-sūtras we notice individuals founding new gaṇas which sometimes took the name of the founder and sometimes that of the place. Godāśa-gaṇa was founded by Godāśa, the Uttara Vālissāha-gaṇa, founded by Uttara and Vālissāha conjointly, and the Uddēha-gaṇa, founded by Rōhana.[29] These and the Vīragaṇāttār, the Kāḷi gaṇattār and the Śrī-Kṛṣṇagaṇattār mentioned by Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri[30] are examples of religious gaṇas.

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[26] S.I.I., Vol. III, part I. p. 9.

[27] 11 of 1898, 65, 83 & 84 of 1898.

[28] Rhys. Davids and W. Stede—*Pali-English Dictionary*, Vol. II.

Manu explains the term 'gaṇa' as meaning 'people' or 'guild,'[31] while the Mahābhārata uses the term in relation to a political, self-governing corporation.[32] In our inscriptions 'gaṇa' is used to mean 'a group of people in charge of administration' and the Āḷungaṇattār was the ruling Committee and should be distinguished from the other specialised vāriyams of the village.

Composition of Āḷungaṇattār.

The earliest Pallava inscription which mentions the Āḷungaṇattār of a village is one of Nandivarman dated in the 23rd regnal year.[33] Mullu Kiḻār, one of the members of the committee of Tiruvippuṛambēḍu, purchased by a deed of sale (vilai śṛāvanaiyāl viṟṟu koṇḍu) Vēppambōlappāl (a field) from Kaṇiyar Agniśarma of Kūlaippaḻūr, another member of the ruling committee of the same village and bestowed it on the Śiva temple of the place. Another inscription[34] from the same village dated in the 49th year of Dantivarman speaks of the headman of the village of Kaliyamangalam, named Ayyapoṟṟi who was also a member of the ruling committee of Tiruvippurambēḍu: "Tiruvippirambeḍ-āḷum-gaṇattāruḷ Kaliyamangilam-giḻār Ayyappoṟṟiyēn."

Of the three members of the Āḷungaṇattār referred to in these two inscriptions, one is definitely a brahman as known by his name Agniśarman; of the other two, we cannot say if they are brahmans; but it is interesting to find that Ayyappoṟṟi is a headman of a village, probably one of the qualifications which entitled him to become a member of the ruling committee of Tiruvippirambēḍu. In almost all the later Pallava inscriptions from the Chingleput district where the Āḷungaṇattār are mentioned, the members are highly learned brahmans. This may be due to the fact that all these are brahman villages and therefore, we are precluded from making the general statement that members of the ruling Committee were exclusively Brahmans. An inscription of Nṛpatungavarman dated in the (17)th year from Kūram[35] refers to a member of the ruling Committee of Avani Nārāyaṇa Caturvēdimangalam. This is an educated Brahman by name Śrī Bālēkkaṇa Śarma Kramavittan.

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[29] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Ch. XV.

[30] "*Studies*"—p. 102.

[31] Manu III. 164. "Gaṇanām ca ēva yājakaḥ."

[32] See Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* on gaṇas.

[33] This inscription on palaeographical basis may be assigned to Pallava Malla. See Mr. Venkayya's remarks in Ep. Indica Vol. XI. p. 223.

[34] Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 225.

Another Brahman member of the ruling committee of the same village of Avani Nārāyaṇa Caturvēdimangalam is referred to in another inscription of the same king.[36] He is called Anganaccaturvēdi Vasanta Yājiyār, evidently a Brahman well-versed in the four vēdas and the performer of a Yāga.

We have four inscriptions of Kampavarman giving us the names of the members of the ruling committee of Uttiramērūr. No. 85 of 1898 dated in the 8th year, names Gurava Śrī Rāma bhaṭṭan as a member of the committee. No. 3 of 1898 dated in the same year speaks of Kuḻumūr Agni Siddha Sarva Kratukkaḷ Kuravar Śrī Narasinga Caturvēdi Sōmayājiyār as a member of the Āḷunganattār of Uttiramērūr. Again, another inscription[37] dated in the 15th year of Kampavarman refers to another member of the ruling committee and he is again a learned Brahman—Kuḻumūr Sanatkumāra Caturvēdi Agni Siddha Sarva kratu Brāhmaṇi. The donor of another inscription of Kampavarman is a member of the Āḷunganattār of Uttiramērūr and he is described as a Kramavittan and Sōmayājin 'Kurava Śrī Agni Śarma kramavittan Sōmayāji.' Thus we see that the ruling Committee of the Brahman villages composed of learned Brahmans and judged by the several endowments which they made to temples and for the maintenance of tanks, they were wealthy and charitable minded.[38]

A record of Nṛpatungavarman dated in the 16th regnal year from Paramēśvaramangalam[39] registers a gift of eleven Kaḻañjus of gold for offerings to the god at Śailēśvara in the village. The amount was deposited on interest with the Gaṇaperumakkaḷ of Śailēśvara. There is nothing for us in the inscription to indicate that the Gaṇaperumakkaḷ is different from āḷungaṇattār.[40]

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[35] 33 of 1900.

[36] 394 of 1905.

[37] 31 of 1898.

[38] An inscription of Kampavarman dated in his 20th year comes from Brahmadēśam, It records the gift of gold to a temple by a member of āḷunganattār of Kāvaḍippākkam in Paḍavūrkōṭṭam. The donor here is called a bhaṭṭan, 227 of 1915.

[39] 257 of 1912.

Amṛtagaṇa.

About this interesting body of people 'Amṛtagaṇattār' we have the following statement in one of the annual Epigraphical Reports[41]:—"Amṛtagaṇattār and Gaṇaperummakkaḷ are terms not met with in the inscriptions examined so far; perhaps they have to be connected with āḷungaṇattār who were the direct managing members of a village, distinct from the general members of the village assembly."

If we are to accept the above remarks, we have to treat 'Amṛtagaṇa' as a political body; but a closer examination of the inscriptions where the term occurs and an understanding of the meaning of the word 'Amṛta' clearly point out that the body was not connected with the village administration but with the temple and its management.

In interpreting 'Amṛtagaṇattār' we have to bear in mind certain points. Firstly, the earliest references to Amṛtagaṇa are found in the stone inscriptions of Aparājita-vikramavarman; secondly, only the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions of this king mention it; and thirdly, we have no reference to Amṛtagaṇa in any of the early Cōḷa inscriptions either from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr or from any other part of South India. These facts lead us to infer that 'Amṛtagaṇattār' were a body of people peculiar to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and came into prominence sometime just before the days of Aparājita, and either they disappeared in the Cōḷa period or they were known by some other name. The first two inscriptions mentioning Amṛtagaṇa are dated in the 4th year of Apparājitavarman. The object of the one[42] is to record the gift of thirty kaḻañjus of gold for a lamp to be burnt in the temple of Mahādēva (Śiva) at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr by Āmatti *alias* Kurumba koḷaḷi, a concubine of Vairamēghan *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyar, the son of Perunangai. The amount was deposited with the assembly of Ādambākkam (a suburb of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr) and the Amṛtagaṇa who agreed to lend out the money at a permanent rate of three mañjāḍis per kaḻañju: "Tiruvoṟṟiyūrpurattu Ālambākkattu Sabhaiyōmum Amṛtagaṇattōmum ipponnāl yāṇḍuvarai kaḻañjinvāy mūnṟumañjāḍi." The other inscription[43] which is also dated in the 4th year registers the gift of thirty kaḻañjus of gold for a lamp to the same temple by Sappakkaṉ *alias* Pātradani, a concubine (bhōgi) of Vairamēgha *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyar, son of Sāmi Akkaṉ. The amount was again placed under the charge of the sabhā at Ādambākkam and the Amṛtagaṇa. A third inscription[44] dated in the seventh year of Aparājita speaks of the gift of thirty kaḻañjus of gold for a lamp by Aparājita's queen—'Ivar Dēviyār Mādēvi aḍigaḷ' to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Mahādēva. It is the sabhā of Ādambākkam and the Amṛtagaṇa that received the gold.

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[40] Mookerjī however, observes: "The village of Brahmadēśam in a taluk of North Arcot district in which these epigraphs were found was an Agrahāra with an organised village assembly, called Gaṇapperumakkaḷ Gaṇavāriyapperumakkaḷ, with many committees working under its control."

[41] 1912-13, p. 90.

[42] I have read the inscription *in situ*. It is an inscription engraved on a slab in the floor of the verandah of the Ādhipurīśvara temple. 158 of 1912.

In all the above cases the Amṛtagaṇa is mentioned along with the village sabhā and this may induce us to believe that the former body was also concerned with village administration just as the āḷungaṇattār, but as we shall see, 'Amṛtagaṇattār' has to be understood differently. 'Amṛtar' means 'Dēvas', Gods, or immortals. 'Amaraḍvija' is a Brahman who lives by attending a temple or idol.[45] We know that Amara and Amṛta are used synonymously in certain contexts.[46] If 'Amaradvija' is a Brahman who lives by superintending a temple, then Amṛtagaṇa surely stands for a group of men who were in charge of temple affairs.

By the time of Aparājita, the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple had attained great prominence, and it is quite natural that such a large institution required the management of an organised Committee of people like the Amṛtagaṇattār. Besides, the sabhā of Ādambakkam[47] could not look after the affairs of the temple from day to day; the money had to be entrusted in the hands of a body which was directly controlling the business of the temple, and the Amṛtagaṇattār served the purpose. It is also clear from the inscriptions noticed that the Amṛtagaṇattār were in a way responsible to the sabhā for the gift

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[43] 161 of 1912.

[44] 163 of 1912. No. 171 of 1912 is one more record in the same temple, which mentions the Amṛtagaṇa. It is a damaged record, the date and the name of the king are lost, and it registers a gift of gold which was received by the assembly of Ādambākkam and Amṛtagaṇa. I examined this inscription and on palaeographical basis we may assign this also to Aparājita.

[45] Monier Williams, p. 80.

[46] Apte, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 46.

[47] Ādambākkam is near St. Thomas' Mount, and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr is to the North of Madras.

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entrusted in their hands. Moreover, we also see here the close association of the village assembly with organised non-political bodies in matters of social administration.

The relation of the Village Committees and the assembly.

We shall almost judge the nature of the work of the ālunganattār by its very name, but we cannot at present obtain a detailed account of its work from Pallava inscriptions. Editing the stone inscription from Guḍimallam, Venkayya remarks: "The relationship which the members of the Committee or Commissioners (Gaṇattār) bore to the village assembly is not clear. In other words, their respective jurisdiction is not known."[48] However, a study of these above inscriptions shows that both the vāriyams as well as the āluṇgaṇattār of these villages were subordinate to the village assembly. We have already seen that the ēri-vāriya perumakkaḷ and the samvatsara vāriya perumakkaḷ received orders from the village sabhā. The assembly being a larger body exercised control over the Committees. The allocation of duties to the various Committees appears to have been part of the main business of the perumakkaḷ or assembly.

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48. Ep. Indica, Vol. XI, p. 224.

CHAPTER X

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE VILLAGE

The Composition of the Village.

From a study of the Pallava copper plates,[1] we learn that the village consisted of houses, house gardens, tanks, kraals, village waste, village common lands, small forests, streams, the temple and temple lands, bazaars, streets, burning grounds and all the wet lands and dry lands where " the iguanas ran and the tortoise crawled ".[2]

Each village was carefully surveyed and the boundaries marked. The size of the village varied and a large one included several hamlets and cēris and the population in turn depended on the size of the village. The Brahmin families alone in the Kūram village of the Chingleput District were one hundred and eight.[3] There was absolutely no opportunity for any sort of indiscriminate over-crowding of the village population. Even the most orthodox Brahmin villages consisted of people of various castes and trades. Oil-mongers, artisans and masons and men of similar trades formed a section of the village population.

The Common Property of the Village.

The tanks, the wells, the channels running through the village, the village common land and the pastures were the common properties enjoyed by the villagers. It was probably on the common land that the village assembly used to meet and the villagers gathered on occasions of importance. The sifting of paddy by the cultivators was done on the village common land, the use of which was paid for by a small portion of the grain being sent to the village granary. The village assembly saw to it that every member in the village had a fair chance of the use of the common property of the village. An inscription of Nṛpatungavarman[4] from Piḷḷaipākkam contains an imprecation on people who stored paddy on the "village sthalam" which may be understood to be the common threshing-floor of the village.

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[1] The Kūram, the Kaśākuḍi, the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam and the Bāhūr plates.

[2] " Uḍumbōḍi āmaitaviḻndu " is a common term used in Pallava and Cōḷa epigraphy as an epithet to dry lands and wet lands. Zoologists may quarrel with us for translating " Uḍuṁbu " into " Iguanas ". ‘Uḍuṁbu is a large lizard, common in South India, in fact all over India. It is a terrestrial form burrowing underground and the Zoological name for it is ‘ Varanus bengalensis ’. On the other hand the Iguana, which is also a lizard and popularly known as the ‘ monitor ’ is an *exclusively* American form and does not occur anywhere in India. At least it may be said that the ‘ Varanus ’ represents to us what the ‘ Iguanas ’ is to the Americans—Students' Text-Book of Zoology by Sidgwick, Vol. II, p. 351.

[3] S.I.I., vol. I, p. 150.

The Creation of Brahman Villages.

Ample facilities were given by the king and his servants to create new villages. I have discussed elsewhere the reasons prompting the donors to settle brahmans in Agrahāras and endow them with lands. Each Brahmadāya village, in a sense, enjoyed a sort of 'sarvamānya tenure' so far as its relations with the ruling powers were concerned. Udayacandramangalam,[5] Dayāmukhamangalam,[6] and the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam[7] are examples of such newly created Brahmadāya villages. They are comparatively small villages, the first consisting of sixty-three Brahman donees, the second of three hundred and four, and the last of only sixteen. The villages, with one exception, the last, were called after their donors, as was the custom then. Economically, these Brahman villages were very well off as they were generally free from all contributions to the state which the other ordinary villages were obliged to make.

Dēvadāna Villages. The Temple and its Economic Value.

The charities to temples consisted not only of a few units of land but also, at times, of a whole village with all its revenue as in the case of the Śrīkāṭṭuppaḷḷi or Tirukkāṭṭupaḷḷi which was endowed to the God Yagnēśvara in the 6th year of Nandivarman III. Usually the families living on such dēvadāna lands holding house sites and house gardens, were in some way connected with the services of the temple as we find in the grant of the Kūram village which acquired the name Paramēśvaramangalam.

A large number of the Pallava inscriptions record gifts to various temples distributed over the realm. Equipped with such lavish endowments, the temple naturally played an important part in the economic life of the village. It maintained a number of people who were employed as its servants and who were known by the collective name "Kōyil parivāram." Regular feeding houses were also attached to temples. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates say that to the God Mahādēva at Śrīkāṭṭupaḷḷi the king granted the village for maintaining the services (connected with) worship and feeding etc. ('Pūjāsatrādikarmaṇē').[8] Here we are reminded of the existence of a tax in ancient India known as 'Maganmai' or 'Magamai' which should be understood as a compulsory contribution in grain of a certain proportion for a temple or catram demanded from cultivators. 'Magamai' in some cases included also a definite percentage on the profits of commercial transactions, the purpose of the payment being the same, i.e., charitable endowments to temples or catrams. That such compulsory charity was familiar in the days of the Pallavas is known from an inscription of Nandivarman Pallava Malla from Uḻalūr[9] clearly mentioning the tax 'Magamai.'

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[4] 175 of 1929-30: "Ivvūṟṟalattu nellaḍuvār Gangai iḍai Kumari iḍaicceydār śeyda pāvam paḍuvār".

[5] S.I.I., vol. II, part III—p. 372.

[6] S.I.I., vol. II, part V—p. 530.

[7] Ep. Indica, vol. XVIII—p. 122.

Several members of the Śaiva sects such as the Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas had their residence and food in Śaiva temples. (Pl. IV. Fig. 7) We have in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* the Buddhist friar saying of the Kāpālika : " Oh ! it is that rascal of a Kāpālin who lives in Ēkāmra." The maintenance of such Śaiva sects gave the incentive to the regular establishment of maṭhas in the later Pallava and early Cōḷa periods. The maṭhas were always attached to temples and shared the temple property but also received separate endowments. The Śaiva maṭha of Tirumēṟṟaḷi in Kāñcī and the maṭha for the Kālāmukha sect[10] at Koḍumbāḷūr represent respectively a late Pallava and an early Cōḷa maṭha in South India.

The annual festivals of the temple afforded special occasions for men to gather, and during these days the temple fed not only the men from its own village but a number of people from other villages in the neighbourhood. Special grants were made to the temple to be utilised for such occasions. A Tamil inscription[11] found on the rock-cut cave at Kunṟāṇḍārkōyil (Pudukkoṭṭah) dated in the third year of Nandippōttaraśar registers a gift of rice for feeding hundred persons on the day of the celebration of the

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[8] S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 509, v. 25.

[9] I place this inscription in the reign of Pallava Malla because of the name 'Perumānaḍigaḷ' found here. We know that Nandivarman bore this title Perumānaḍigaḷ (17 of 1899).

[10] The Koḍumbālūr inscription of Vikramakēśari edited by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : J.O.R., Jan.-March, 1933.

[11] 347 of 1914. Text found in the 'Pudukkoṭṭah Inscriptions'—p. 10.

Tiruvādirai festival by a resident of the village of Vaḻuvūr. Again an inscription[12] of the second year of Nṛpatungavarman from Lālguḍi records a grant of fifteen and a half kaḻañjus of gold by a private individual named Pūdikaṇḍan to the God Śiva at Tiruttavattuṟai and the gold was intended to be spent on the celebration of the New Year—Śittiraiviṣu tiruviḻā. Thus, apart from its religious and educational purposes, the temple of the village was a substantial economic institution to which the villagers always turned in times of famine or any sort of temporary economic depression.

Houses and House Gardens.

Most of the ordinary villages of the Pallava country being agricultural in nature, the population consisted chiefly of landlords and tenants. The peasants or ryots are called in Sanskrit 'Kuḍumbi' and Kuḍi' or 'Kuḍimakkaḷ' in Tamil. They are also known in an Uttiramērūr inscription of Dantivarman as Ahambaḍi Uḍaiyāns.[13] These agriculturists lived in humble houses raised up with mud walls and thatched roofs, and houses and mansions of burnt bricks and tiles, that is, structures of a permanent kind were considered a luxury, and in order to erect structures of burnt bricks the licence of the government seems to have been necessary, only the brahmadāya and dēvadāna villages being exempted.

To every house in the village was attached a garden ('Manaiyum manaippaḍaippum')[14] wherein the owner cultivated his own vegetables and flowers and kept his cows and goats. From one of the early Pallava copper plates (the Hirahaḍagaḷḷi grant) we know that milk, grass, firewood, and vegetables had to be supplied gratis by the villagers to royal officers and their servants.[15] This practice evidently was prevalent throughout the Pallava period and is said to exist to this day in a few Indian states.

Village industries.

Excluding the Brahmans whose social status and intellectual learning never failed to fetch them a decent living, the other members of the village maintained themselves by organised industries. The village included spinners, weavers, potters, cattle-breeders, goldsmiths, carpenters, owners of oil-presses, wholesale merchants of various articles and middle men. Every organised village industry established itself only after getting the due sanction of the governing authorities and part of the profits of these industries either in kind or in money was the rightful share of the king.

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[12] 122 of 1929.

[13] 'Agambaḍiyār'—name of an agricultural caste in the Tanjore and Madura Districts, as having been in the Palace service of chiefs in former times.—Tamil Lexicon.

[14] S.I.I., vol. I—p. 151.

[15] Ep. Ind., vol. I—p. 4.

In a very late Pallava inscription, that of Māṟambāvai, probably Queen of Nandivarman III,[16] we have a reference to the cloth merchants (Aṟuvaivāṇigar) of Śrīkaṇṭhapuram being held responsible for looking after a 'dēvadāna.' They must have been so chosen instead of the village assembly because of the interest which they showed in the temple probably by endowments etc. The above reference together with another inscription[17] of Nandivarman II wherein it is stated that a goldsmith by name Aridhīran renovated Vaḍaśigarakōyil at Vāṇapuram and gave also the paṭṭi of 'Aḻiñjirkaḷam' to the temple show the piety and the large-minded liberality of the small industrial population of the village. If the Hindu merchants were liberal towards their religion and order, the Buddhists were not less charitable. The *Mattavilāsa* informs us that a rich merchant by name Dhanadāsa endowed the Vihāra at Kāñcī with large funds.[18]

Shops and articles of trade.

Each village had its own market in which the best articles therein were exposed for sale. The Pallava copper plates mention a tax called 'Kūlam.' 'Kūlam' stands for grains, especially of eighteen kinds, of which only fifteen are actually named in the Tamil Lexicon.

Besides these grains, the other articles sold in the market were oil and ghee, cocoanuts and arecanuts, sugar and all kinds of vegetables and flowers. Temporary stalls were set up near the temples during the days of festivals. The Tēvarams describe a few temples surrounded by stalls.[19] The Ulagaḷandaperumāḷ inscription of Teḷḷāṟṟerinda Nandippōttaraiyar dated in the eighteenth year[20] registers a trade licence, free of tax, permitting the merchants of the village of Kudiraiccēri (which I have identified with Kudiraippaḷḷam of the Ponnēri Taluk of the Chingleput District) under the sway of the king Vidēl Viḍugu to open up shops and deal in all sorts of articles, from the most precious camphor to the least valued one, leather sandals. Here we have a clear example of the royal support given to internal trade.

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[16] 303 of 1901. The reading of the Epigraphists is 'Aṟugai Vāṇigar'.

[17] S.I.I., vol. III, part I—p. 91.

[18] Ahō Upāsakasya Dhanadāsa śrēṣṭhinaḥ saṟvāvāsamahādānamahimā—Text. p. 11.

[19] "Kaḍaiyum puḍaiśūḻ maṇimaṇḍapamum"—'Tirukkaccūr Ālakkōyil'. Sundarar.

[20] 12 of 1895. The text is published by Mr. Venkayya in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol. VIII. I had the opportunity of examining the inscription on the spot.

THE OWNERS OF LAND AND LAND TENURE

Private landlords.

The chief industry being agriculture, the village consisted of several private holders of land who had acquired the proprietorship over their property by buying the lands. The proprietorship was a hereditary right of the descendants of the family and the power of alienation either by free gift or by sale was recognised. We have a few later Pallava inscriptions recording the gifts and sale of land by private individuals.[21] The landlord was allowed to enjoy the fruits of the soil after giving away to his ryots or tenants the share due to them for tilling the earth and after setting aside in kind or in money the proportion due to the king. I understand the 'Puravupon'[22] of the Pallava epigraphy to be the tax in money on cultivable lands paid to the government by these landlords and the 'Uṭpuravudēvadāna'[23] of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates to mean the dēvadāna consisting of all the cultivable lands that are fit to be taxed, that is inclusive of all land rent. The early Pallava charters are far too meagre to throw light on the exact relationship between these private landlords and their tenants.

Royal Domain.

Like the Sātavahāna kings of the Deccan, the Pallava kings were owners of personal farms in the villages. The Cēndalūr Plates[24] of Kumāraviṣṇu II provide us an example of the gift to a Brahman of certain units of land taken from the king's field. It records: —

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[21] 158 of 1919, 84 of 1892, 11 of 1898, and S.I.I., vol. III, part I, p. 91.

[22] S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 509. 31 of 1912 records the gift of the village of Tuṟaiyūr inclusive of 'pon and puravu' by a Pallava feudatory. Here the 'puravu' is the cultivable land of the village and the 'pon' is the iṟai or the tax in money on these lands. The phrase 'ponnum puravum aḍanga' implies the same as the negative phrase 'Iṟai ili' in the other grants.

[23] S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 509, line 51.

[24] Ep. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 235. "Cēndalūra gramē rajāvastu bhūtvā sthitān . . ."

"The king's domain in the four directions amounts to eight hundred paṭṭikas. (Of this) a field amounting altogether to four hundred Paṭṭikas has been given by us as a brahmadāya with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (devabhōga) for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities." [25]

The conditions of dēvadāna and brahmadāya lands.

Regarding dēvadāna and brahmadāya lands, the nature of holding is different from those of private landlords. We have various kinds of donors and it is worth while examining a few early and later Pallava charters relating to them and attempt to see on what basis the lands were held by these Brahmans and temples.

The earliest Pallava charter so far known to us, (the Mayidavōlu plates[26] of Yuva Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman) registers the gift of a village called Viripara in Āndhrāpatha to two Brahmans. The order was issued from the Pallava capital Kāñcī by the Yuva-Mahārāja himself to his official at Dhanakaḍa instructing him not only to make a note of the fact of the gift (probably in the village register) but also to grant the village all kinds of immunities or parihārās, that is, make it an entirely tax-free village. Of similar nature are the gifts of the village of Pīkira by Simhavarman, the two Ōmgōḍu grants of Vijayaskandavarman and Simhavarman and the gift of the village of Māngadūr, also by Simhavarman. The British Museum plates of queen Cārudevī and the grant of the village of Uruvappalli by Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman are two more early Pallava copper plates conferring endowments on temples.

The common features noticeable in all these grants are firstly, the absence of a Vijñapti who appears in later Pallava copper plates and who is usually an influential feudatory or officer requesting the king to allow the lands or the whole village to be made a tax-free gift. His absence is easily understood by the fact that in the above grants it was the king (or the queen) that took the initiative to make the gift for his (or her) own welfare, and therefore, there was no opportunity for a Vijñapti to appear. Secondly, proper care was taken to safeguard the gifts already made to temples within the said villages as the phrase 'dēvabhōga-halavarjam' implies. Thirdly, in all the above cases, the lands or the villages granted are not said to be the personal property of either the king or of any particular individual, and the inference is that

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[26] Ep. Indica, vol. VI, p. 84.

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they belonged to the state and the king as the head of the state had the right to relinquish the enjoyment of a part of the revenue from the state land in favour of recognized public charities.

Now taking up the later Pallava charters, those of Nandivarman Pallava Malla and his successors, namely, the Kaśākuḍi, the Taṇḍantōṭṭam, the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam, the Bāhūr and the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, we find a difference in the procedure of the grant, though they are again gifts of entire villages or of units of land belonging to the state. In these, the initiative was not taken by the king. We find a Vijñapti in each of them and through the Vijñapti the king not only sanctioned the gift but also surrendered his right of the enjoyment of the entire revenue accruing from these villages. The real part that the Vijñapti plays in such grants is in securing the royal permission for the gifts with all the parihārās.

Though every one of these Pallava charters, both early and later, contains a long list of the parihārās and specific mention of other privileges which the donees were allowed to enjoy, not a single grant definitely confers on the donees the full proprietorship over the lands that were given to them. Though the donees of the dēvadāna and brahmadāya lands may be considered as owners of their property in the sense that they received not only the land rent but also all the other revenue from the villages just as the state did, still the full proprietary rights of the soil were denied to them because they could not alienate the property by gift or sale, privileges which invariably mark the status of a private landlord. We have not a single instance in Pallava epigraphy of either the Brahman donee or the donee enjoying the temple lands disposing of his holdings as he liked. On the other hand, there are indirect evidences to substantiate the fact that they were only the enjoyers of the gifted lands.

The Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi plates[27] of Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman speak of the confirmation of a grant which was formerly made by one Mahārāja Bappasvāmi. It may be that the grant indicates a confirmation in a new reign of an old administrative arrangement or it may be that a grant made by any other authority or officer needed to be confirmed by the king in due course. Further, even after the confirmation of the grant by Śivaskandavarman, the donees are called in the record only "'Bhōjakas' of the village of Cillarēkakoḍuṁka" in the Sātahaniraṭṭha, i.e., the enjoyers of the village mentioned therein. The phrase 'Dēvabhōgahala' in reference to cultivated lands enjoyed by temples found in several early Pallava charters; the 'Vidyābhōga' of the Bāhūr plates and several references to Arcanābhōgas specifying lands enjoyed by temple arcakas are suggestive enough that the donees of Brahmadāyas and dēvadānas were considered only as the enjoyers of and not the proprietors over what they possessed. The Kaśākuḍi plates definitely state that the gift of the village of Koḍukoḷḷi with all its revenue shall be enjoyed only by the donee and his descendants and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam record lays down that the donees alone shall enjoy the gift.

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[27] Ep. Ind., vol. I.

In this connection one has to understand the true significance of the term 'Paradatti' occurring in the Kaśākuḍi and the Bāhūr plates. The first mentioned record states[28] that the 'Paradatti' was made in the presence of (the officers) Nilaikkaḷattār, Adhikārar and Vāyilkēḻpār. Dr. Hultzsch understands 'Paradatti' as 'the grant' here, as well as in the Bāhūr plates, and he seems to be right.[29]

Land gifts to Brahmans and temples were also made from one's own personal property. I have already pointed out an early example of the gift of a few units of land to a certain Brahman from the king's own personal farms. Here, again the donee had only the right of enjoying the land and nothing definite is stated as to the transference of the proprietary rights over the soil.

In the Kūram plates[30] of Paramēśvaravarman I, we have a member of the royal family endowing lands to a few brahmans and also to a temple which he himself built in the village. The builder and donor, Vidyāvinīta Pallava was evidently a relative of the king and he is said to have bought one thousand and two hundred kuḻis of land (from the villagers ?) for which he paid the price in gold. Other lands were also purchased by him in order to burn bricks for building the temple. This shows that the donor, Vidyāvinīta Pallava, made the lands his own personal property before assigning them to the respective donees who were permitted only to enjoy the gift and not to sell them or alienate them in any manner whatsoever.

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[28] S.I.I., vol. II, part III, p. 353.

[29] In the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates the word *paraḍatti* is, as Krishna Śāstri has noted, a form of *paraḍai*, sabhā, cf. āṇai, -āṇatti. S.I.I., vol. II, part V— p. 509, ll. 62-3, and p. 512.

[30] S.I.I., vol. I, p. 150.

We have no instance in Pallava epigraphy of an ordinary private individual endowing Brahmans other than those connected with the temple service. These private charities were enjoyed by the Brahmans and their descendants as remuneration for the services rendered to the temple. The very fact that these private individuals entrusted their gifts in the hands of the administrative authorities such as the village assembly or placed them under the protection of Mahēśvaras within the locality indicates that the gifts were only to be utilised for the purposes to which they were intended and not otherwise. Usually in the later Pallava Tamil inscriptions the details and the conditions with which the grant was made are carefully recorded.

The donees of tax-free dēvadāna and brahmadāya lands endowed by the state enjoyed the revenue sheerly as a matter of favour from the king at the head of the state, and the duty of freeing the land from taxation and other levies rested on the state, whereas in the cases of grants of private individuals, the responsibility of freeing the land from the payment of taxes devolved on the person who made the gift. In the later Pallava period when organised village assemblies began to administer the affairs in the villages, we have several instances where the village assembly permitted private individuals to endow lands to temples tax-free (Irai Ili) after accepting from the donor the tax in money on the lands that were given away.

A stone inscription[31] from the Trichinopoly District dated in the twenty-third(?) year of Nṛpatungavarman records that the sabhā at Tengangudi sold the land called Tolunervēli to Pūdigandan and permitted him to endow the same to the God at Tiruttavatturai after accepting from him the amount of gold necessary for freeing the land from land tax and other burdens such as eccōru, vettivēdinai and śennīrvetti.

Nambi Appi, the builder of the Tiruttani Śiva temple, endowed the God therein with thousand kulis of land freeing it perpetually from land tax for which he paid the sabhā in gold. ("Tiruttaniyil sabhaiyārku irai ili āvadarku pon koduttu"). This fact is recorded in an inscription found on the southern wall of the Tiruttani temple dated in the eighteenth year of Aparājita Vikramavarman.[32]

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[31] 84 of 1892.

[32] 435 of 1905.

The builder of Mānasarpa Viṣṇu gṛham, now known as the Lakṣminārāyaṇa temple at Kāvāntaṇḍalam was one Mānasarpa, a contemporary of Kampavarman, and he made the gift of two paṭṭis of land and a flower garden to the God and made it tax-free by paying the sabhā a sum in gold as the tax (iṟai kāvalāga).[33]

'Kāval' really means 'protection' or 'security': The idea is that the amount deposited in the hands of the assembly yielded interest per annum equal to the tax-dues on the land. In these cases the tax was not remitted but paid in advance in a lump payment in the manner indicated.

Paḷḷiccandam.

A study of the early Cōḷa inscriptions reveals that several Jaina Temples were in possession of large tracts of cultivable lands in many villages and that they were known by the name Paḷḷiccandam, that is, lands enjoyed (candam) by Jaina temples (Paḷḷis).[34] I have come across the use of 'Paḷḷiccandam' in this technical sense for the first time in Pallava epigraphy in an inscription of Kampavarman from Kīḻputtūr.[35] Here it speaks of 'dēvabhōgamum paḷḷiccandamum' the former being lands owned by Hindu temples and the latter denoting lands in possession of Jaina Paḷḷis.

Among the numerous stone inscriptions of the later Pallavas registering gifts to Hindu temples, there is a solitary fragment[36] from the village of Veḍāl in the North Arcot District, dated in the 14th year of Nandivarman, probably Pallava Malla, which tells us that an individual gave some lands to the Jaina temple at Veḍāl.

Yet another epigraphical reference, but one not very complimentary to the king Pallava Malla, to lands in possession of Jainas is found in the Udayēndiram Plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of the king.[37]

These stray references to the possessions of the Jainas and the entire absence of any reference in the whole of Pallava epigraphy, so far available, either to endowments or even to possessions of lands by the Buddhists only show the subordinate position which these religious sects occupied in the Pallava country.

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[33] 207 of 1901.

[34] The Udayēndiram Plates of Prithivīpati II make it clear that Paḷḷiccandam means the lands in possession of a Jaina temple. S.I.I., vol. II, part II —p. 390.

[35] 116 of 1923.

[36] 82 of 1908.

[37] S.I.I., vol. II, part III, p. 368.

Ēripaṭṭi.

The lands in the village registered in the names of the tanks were called Ēripaṭṭi or Ēricceruvu which consisted of lands endowed by private persons or set apart from public or village lands for effecting periodical repairs to the tank, its bunds, sluices and so on. These lands were managed by the village assembly and in the later Pallava period, by a committee thereof called 'Ērivāriyaperumakkaḷ'. An inscription from Guḍimallam[38] dated the 49th year of Vijaya Dantivikramavarman registers the gift of a piece of land known as 'Nandikuṇḍil' to the tank Veḷḷēri the maintenance of which had to be met with the produce from this land. The subject matter of several inscriptions of Kampavarman from Uttiramērūr is the grant of land to the great tank called after Vairamēgha.

Light thrown by Kampavarman's inscription on land tenure.

Until we come towards the end of the Pallava period, we do not get any insight into the land tenure system of the Pallavas. The Kiḻputtūr inscription[39] of Kampavarman is very important for us here. It is dated in the eleventh year of Kampavarman and records an unanimous agreement of the villagers of Kiḻputtūr in Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam, to render annually one kāḍi of paddy on every paṭṭil of cultivated land (viḷai nilam) within the village as ērikkāḍi, i.e., tank duty, to Mādēvanār in return for the gold received from him for constructing the tank.

The interesting portion of the inscription is the mention of the cultivable lands of the village held under different tenures. It speaks first of 'Payalnilam'. Since 'Payal' means 'half', Payalnilam must refer to those lands whose produce is shared equally by the landlord and the tenant. This reminds us of 'Payalēruvāram' which is a proportion of the produce claimed by the tenants and in common usage in the Chingleput District. Then we have 'Aḍai nilam'; aḍai is king's share of the produce of the land, whether one-sixth or one-tenth or otherwise and 'aḍaikoḍuttal' stands for the payment of the king's share of the produce from the land; so aḍainilam will be those lands a proportion of whose produce is due to the king. Next we have 'karainilam' the true nature of which is not very clear. However, we may take it that 'karainilam' stands for those lands which are subject to periodical re-distribution among tenants, since we have epigraphical use of the term 'karai iḍudal' in the sense of distribution of lands among tenants.

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[38] Ep. Ind., vol. XI, p. 225.

[39] 116 of 1923.

Tenants of State farms.

That there were tenants of state farms is clear from the statement 'Munperrārai mārri' found in the Kaśākuḍi and Paṭṭattāḷmangalam plates of Pallava Malla and in the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatunga. The Kaśākuḍi plates have the following order :—

> "Kōnōlai yāṇḍu irubattireṇḍāvadu ūṟṟukkāṭṭukkōṭṭattu naṭṭārum kāṇga, tannāṭṭukkoḍukkoḷḷi mun peṟṟārai māṟṟi ".

Dr. Hultzsch translates here the phrase "mun peṟṟārai māṟṟi " into " expropriating the former owners " whereas in the Bāhūr plates he interprets " dispossessing the former tenants ". The latter translation is nearer the point in the sense that it was not the former owners that were dispossessed of their lands, but the former tenants of state farms in the respective villages, before they were assigned for the enjoyment of the new donees ; thereby the state abandoned its right of employing the tenants of its own on the lands in these villages and severed its connections with them and it permitted the donees to choose their own tenants ; but there is nothing to indicate that the state deprived these tenants of their legitimate rights or of their means of livelihood without adequately compensating them. We should, therefore, beware of using terms like ' expropriated ' or ' dispossessed.' The word ' māṟṟi ' simply means ' having changed tenants who held the lands before.' Of the steps by which the change was effected, we have no information. That the interpretation here suggested is the correct one is borne out by the occurrence of the term Kuḍi-nīkki ' in close proximity to our phrase in the Kaśākuḍi plates.[40] The same interpretation gains still further support from a study of the early Cōḷa land-grants in the century immediately following the fall of the Pallava power.

The Cultivation of Agricultural Lands.

The major part of the agricultural lands of the village was taken away for the cultivation of rice which is one of the staple food crops of India.[41] Rice was one of the chief items of barter. It is not wrong to say that rice was also a chief commercial product in the days of the Pallavas. Considering the very close intercourse between China, East Indies and South India at this time, we may rightly imagine that ships from the coasts of the Pallava country sailed to the coasts of the East Indian islands and China.

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[40] S.I.I., vol. II, part III—p. 351 ; line 107.

[41] *See* Note H on Rice and Paddy.

filled with the best products of the country. For a confirmation of the suggestion we may turn to one of our foreign sources which tells us that in the year 710 A.D. the kingdom of South India sent an embassy to China with tribute and the products of the country.[42]

Cocoanut Palms.

Besides agriculture, the growing of trees like the palms, and the maintenance of gardens are specifically recorded in the copper plates. The attention of the government was given to such plantations to lay restrictions on their cultivation or to tax their produce in certain cases for reasons which we shall note presently.

Cocoanut palms, which are found in abundance in South India, are said to have originally come from the Malayan Archipelago. In ancient days as now, the cocoanut was an article in great demand being used both for religious and domestic purposes. The cultivators of these palms naturally received a good income out of their produce. Every dēvadāna and brahmadāya village secured royal permission to have groves of cocoanut palms, 'Kāvuteṅgiḍappeṟuvadāgavum',[43] i.e., 'groves of cocoanut palms may be planted.'

Now, this positive statement with regard to these villages implies a negative one in the cases of villages other than those of dēvadāna and brahmadāya. It was not that these villages were forbidden to have groves of cocoanut palms, but what the charters mean is that a part of the produce must be set aside as the share of the king while the villages given away as gifts to Brahmans and temples were exempted from rendering this share. Another definite statement found in copper plates in connection with dēvadāna and brahmadāya villages is that their cocoanut trees are not to be climbed by toddy drawers, Īḻavarērappeṟādārāgavum,' i.e., 'the toddy drawers shall not climb (these palms).' This is perhaps due to the moral censure attached to toddy drawing and toddy drinking and naturally the temple lands and Brahman lands should not contribute to this. From this we may infer that the cultivation of cocoanut palms for purposes of toddy-drawing was common then, and it is no wonder that we find the restriction on it by the levy of the tax called 'Īḻampūṭci' on toddy-drawers. The king had also a claim to the fourth part of the trunks of all old trees and the Kaśākuḍi plates include distinctly the areca palms and the cocoanut palms. So the king's income from the cultivation of cocoanut palms was from three different sources. First, from the Īlavar themselves, secondly, from the owners of these palms, and thirdly, from the destruction of all old trees.

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[42] Toung Pao II. 5.

[43] S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 521, line 36.

Palmyra Palms.

Palmyra palms were as widely grown as the cocoanut palms. Those grown within the dēvadāna and the brahmadāya villages, as in the case of the cocoanut palms, were forbidden to be used by the Īlavar. I have already pointed out elsewhere that 'Īlampūṭci' is a tax on the toddy-drawers as a class, and that śārruvari' and 'panampāgu' refer to taxes on the toddy-yielding palms, i.e., the owner or the cultivator of these palms intended for the purpose of toddy-drawing had to pay a tax to the Government. So, śārruvari and panampāgu stand on a different category from Īlampūṭci. Thus, the Pallava government did restrict as much as possible by means of taxation the use of palms for toddy-drawing.

Areca Palms.

The demand for areca nuts was large and I am not sure if it was not an article of export. The banks of the Vēgavatī were adorned with groves of areca palms say the Udayēndiram plates,[44] and in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, we have a description of the banks of the Kāvērī, which runs thus: "He (Simhaviṣṇu) quickly seized the country of the Cōḷas, embellished by the daughter of Kāvēra (i.e., the river Kāvērī) whose ornaments are the forests of paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant groves of areca (palms)".[45] The tax kaḍai aḍaikkāy was levied on areca nuts exposed for sale in bazaars, and the king had also a claim to the fourth part of the old areca palms.

Oil seeds must also have been planted largely. We have a tax on the oil mills of the village, but we do not hear of any tax on the cultivation of oil seeds. Among the fruit trees, mangoes and plantains were the most common. The Kaśākuḍi plates mention a tax called 'Kallāl kāṇam.' Kallāl is a tree and referred to in the Tēvārams.[46] It is considered by some to be a fig tree with fruits in clusters and perhaps the people ate these fruits. Botanists call this '*ficus Infectoria*' and describe it as a large and most beautiful tree with a far-extended uncommon dense head; like *Ficus religiosa* sometimes dropping roots of considerable magnitude from the trunk and branches. It is very likely that the villagers had to get a licence for planting and using such large trees by paying a small amount of money to the government.

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[44] S.I.I., vol. II, part III, p. 367, line 38 et seq.

[45] S.I.I., vol. II, part V, v. 10.

[46] "Kallāl niḻalkīḻarangaḷuraittavammānē"—Tirukkaccūr Ālakkōyil. Sundarar.

Cotton.

Since weaving was one of the chief village industries, cotton must have been cultivated on large tracts suited to its growth. A proportion of the cotton threads before it was woven into cloth was due to the king as his share. This is known in Pallava inscriptions as 'Paḍāṅgaḻi.'

Even to this day Kāñcī continues to be one of the chief weaving centres of South India. That "little Jaina world" epigraphically known[47] both as 'Jiña Kāñcī' and 'Tirupparuttikunṟam' seems to have acquired the latter name 'the beautiful cotton hill' because of the abundant cultivation of 'parutti' or cotton which was carried on there. As a corroboration of this belief, it is maintained that the image of Candraprabhā is installed in the second floor of the small temple there, at a height of twelve to fourteen feet from the floor in order that the parutti trees may not hide his presence.

The mention of certain purely medicinal plants in a few Pallava copper plates attracts attention, because they not only clear our doubt as to the question why their cultivation and sale were restricted, but also give us an idea of the standard of Āyurvedic system prevalent then. The use of these plants was well recognised by the doctors in the Pallava country. It was the duty of every village to maintain its best physicians and the Tanḍantōṭṭam and the Udayēndiram plates record Vaidyabhāga, i.e., the share of the physicians. Let us consider in detail the few medicinal plants.

Śeṅgoḍi or Śeṅgoḍivēli.

This plant is a native of India and is popularly known as Citramūlam and Koḍivēli in Tamil. In the Asiatic Researches,[48] it is described as 'Citraka.' The Sanskrit names for it seem to be 'Pathin,' 'Citraka' and also 'Vahni' and all other names of fire.[49] The Bengalis call this 'Citra' or 'Rakta-Citra.' Plumbago Zeylanica or Rosea[50] is the Latin name for it. According to Winslow, "Sengoḍivēli is a running plant whose root is a powerful caustic."

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[47] 97—100 of 1923.

[48] *Asiatic Researches,* vol. IV, p. 255.

It is a rose-coloured wort and the books on Indian Medicinal Plants include Śengoḍivēli among a class of pungent creepers with abundant medicinal properties. The flowers are of three colours, blue, white and red, and the last is the best for medical purposes. As a Raṇakāri (that which causes wound) and Uṣṇakāri (that which causes heat) the roots of the Śeṅgoḍi are said to possess far-reaching effects in the medical field.[51]

Since Citravaidyam, according to the *Prāṇarakṣāmṛtasindhu*, means Iṛaṇavaidyam, i.e., surgery, the name Citramūlam for the plant Śeṅgoḍi which was profusely used for surgical purposes is but a fitting name. The cultivation and sale of this virulent poisonous plant was very rightly taxed by the Pallava government and the tax in money went by the name 'Śeṅgoḍikāṇam'.[52]

The creeper is known by the name Śeṅgoḍivēli in almost all the books referring to it, and it is well in this connection, to compare the names Karuvēli, Paruttivēli, Koḍivēli, Veṭṭivēli, etc.

Kaṇṇi.

The Āyurvedic importance of Kaṇṇi or Karuśarāṅgaṇṇi or even Karuśālāṅgaṇṇi needs no emphasis. Karikkaṇḍu, Karikakai, Kariccal, Kariccan, Kayyāṇḍakarai, are all names for the same plant.[53] This '*Elipta postrata*' is now-a-days very common in India and in blossom all the year. There are two varieties, the yellow and the white. While the yellow is rather rare, the

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[49] Roxburgh's "Flora Indica", p. 155.

[50] Roxburgh does not notice many differences between these two varieties. Both, according to him, contain the same property and are used for the same medicinal purposes. "Calyx, gibbous, five-toothed. Corolla, funnel-shaped. Stamens inserted into the tops of the five nectarial scales which embrace the germ. Stigma, five-cleft. Seed, one oblong, coated. Leaves, ovate, oblong, smooth. Racemes, besprinkled with glutinous hair," etc.

[51] Prāṇarakṣāmṛtasindhu—p. 29.

[52] Kaśākuḍi Plates, S.I.I., vol. II, part III, p. 352, l. 123. In interpreting this tax, Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (*Hindu Administrative Institutions*—p. 121) was obviously led away by the word 'vēli' attached to Śeṅgoḍi.

[53] English-Tamil Dictionary—p. 205, printed 1897, S.P.C.K: Press.

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white is found in almost all marshy places. Medically, the leaves are important for making pills for asthmatic persons, while the oil extracted from the plant is good for the head and for all eye diseases. The 'Kaṇṇīṭṭukkāṇam' was evidently a tax on Kaṇṇi; whether it was a tax on the cultivation of Kaṇṇi or on the sale of Kaṇṇi I am not able to say, probably on both.

I read in Roxburgh that in tattooing, the Indians "after penetrating the skin, rub the juicy green leaves of this plant over the part, which gives the described indelible colour, i.e., a deep bluish black."

Tattoo is an indelible mark or figure made by penetrating the skin and introducing some pigment into the punctures. This is considered a mode of ornament and was in practice among the several classes, both in ancient India as well as in the western world. It is slowly dying in South India, but the sailors of the western countries still keep up the practice. It may be as old as the days of the Pallavas in South India.

We find a few more semi-medicinal plants the restricted cultivation of which was also due to other causes.

Damanagam.

The dēvadāna and brahmadāya villages are said to have enjoyed the special privilege of planting Damanagam which is known today in the neighbourhood of Madras as 'Davanam' and in the far south as 'Marukoḻundu'. Since the leaves possess a slightly aromatic smell, the Hindus have been using this in their religious ceremonies. These are known in Sanskrit as 'Dōna' or 'Dana' and in the Botany books as *Artismisia Indica* and is said to be a native of China and Japan. It is quite likely, considering its sweet smell and its medicinal qualities, that the plant was probably first imported into South India from China in the days of the Pallavas, and hence its special place in their copper plates. The Āyurvedic physicians extract a kind of oil out of Damanagam, and Santonine which is considered a dreadful poison is also got from it.

Kuvaḷai.

This is the Indian water-lily (the *Nīlotpala* of Sanskrit literature) grown in marshy tanks with very shallow water. The flowers which blossom in the rainy and cold seasons are greatly used for purposes of worship. They are also said to be of some medicinal value, but what prompted the Pallava Government to levy taxes both on the cultivation and the sale of Kuvaḷai is not definitely known. A good tank can easily be spoiled and rendered useless and marshy and therefore dangerous for people to get into by planting a few Kuvaḷai. Therefore, the licence tax 'Kuvaḷai Naḍuvari' for planting Kuvaḷai seems to be a legitimate one. The second tax on the sale of Kuvaḷai 'Kuvaḷaikāṇam' was levied probably because it was in great demand then, used by the people for purposes of worship and also for purposes of medicine.

Śengaḻunīr.

The same reasons weigh in the case of Śengaḻunīr whose plantation was also restricted to a certain extent. The Botanists call these flowers *Nymphia Odarata* and the name is worthy of them because of their beauty and sweet smell. The Tēvārams describe Śeṅgaḻunīr as a favourite flower of Śiva[54] and today several spots in Kāñcī are known by the name 'Śeṅgaḻunīr Ōḍai', though no śeṅgaḻunīr is to be found there at present. These creepers, which again only grow on marshy soil, flower in the rainy season. The Dēvadāna villages are given the special privilege to plant śeṅgaḻunīr, "śeṅgaḻunīr naḍappeṟuvadāgavum",[55] in recognition of their need for the flowers for worship in the temple.

The roots of śeṅgaḻunīr are used for preparing medicines for bile, etc.

The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates record the cultivation of two more plants—the Uḷḷi (*Allium cepa*) and Iṛuvēli (*Andropogun muricatum*); today Uḷḷi is an important article of diet, but whether it was so in the days of the Pallavas or it was perhaps more used for purposes of medicine, I am not able to say. We can very well understand the use of Iruvēli which grows on the tank bunds. The roots of this odoriferous shrub were evidently used for making taṭṭis and perhaps also for medicines.

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[54] "Naṟu śengaḻunīr malar nalla malligai śaṇbagattōḍu . . .". -Tiruppanaiyūr Padigam. Sundarar.

[55] S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 509, line 59.

NOTE H.—*On rice and paddy in Pallava records.*

✓*Paddy and Rice.*

In some of the Pallava inscriptions, we get information about the various kinds of paddy and qualities of rice that were in use during the Pallava period. These inscriptions definitely stipulate the degree of refinement of the product, while some give an indication of the price.

In an inscription of Nandivarman III, reference is made to a particular variety of paddy (Tellānellu). This term may be split and explained as follows: 'Tellu' means 'pātti kaṭṭu' (prepare a plot for immediate cultivation). 'Tellānellu' may, therefore, possibly mean 'nel' (paddy) *not* used for raising plants in a bounded area (a nāṟṟangāl)! Thus, it is almost equivalent to 'irainel' (i.e., paddy used for ordinary consumption.).

In one of Nṛpatunga's inscriptions, we have a reference to 'śennel.' This is a variety of paddy, reddish in appearance. ('śen'-red; 'nel'-paddy).

'Nārnel' and 'Irainel' are mentioned in one of Kampavarman's inscriptions. 'Nārnel' may be taken to mean 'paddy intended for purposes of cultivation, i.e., raising tender plants for transplantation.' 'Irainel' is suggestive of paddy used for food. This is the only possible distinction that can be made between 'nārnel' and 'irainel.' These two forms of paddy are mentioned in an endowment. Possibly there was a plot of land involved in the endowment, for the cultivation of which the 'nārnel' was to be used.

Rice is mentioned in the inscriptions and in each case the quality of the rice is prescribed. In Aparājita's and Nṛpatunga's inscriptions, 'patteṭṭukkuttaṟpaḻavariśi' (pattu, eṭṭu, kuttal, paḻa, ariśi) is mentioned. It is a known fact that the refinement of rice is greater in proportion to the number of times it is pounded. 'Paḻavariśi' is particularly mentioned, because old rice, i.e., rice obtained from paddy of previous year's produce is always considered to be better than the new product.

In Kampavarman's inscription we again get a reference to 'palavariśi' and the endowment states 'pattettāga kutti pala ariśi'.[56]

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56. References to the different kinds of paddy and rice may be found in the following inscriptions :

King.	*Ep. No.*
Nandivarman III	73/1900
Nṛpatunga	122/1929
do.	257/1912
do.	262/1912
Aparājita	159/1912
Kampavarman	90/1898
do.	174/1912

PART III

SOCIAL LIFE

Tirumaṅgai does not tell us that this custom was prevalent in the Tamil land in the time of the Pallavas but what interests us is that he, having read about the custom in ancient books, deifies the limitations placed upon women by the authors of the Tamil works and expresses his views thus:[36]

> "   kāmattin
> Mannum vaḻimuṟaiyē niṟṟum nām mānōkkin
> Annanaḍaiyār alarēśa āḍavarmēl
> Mannumaḍalūrā renbadōr vāśagamum
> Tennuraiyil kēṭṭaṟivaduṇḍu adanaiyām teḷiyōm
> Mannum vaḍaneṟiyē vēṇḍinōm."

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[36] "*Periya Tirumaḍal*"—verses 38-40.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

In the Pallava kingdom there were people of different religious sects, Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Buddhists and Jainas. Pallava monarchs as a class were tolerant towards these religious sects. The Śaivas in the kingdom were antagonistic towards the Buddhists and Jainas as evidenced by the Tēvārams, and so also the Vaiṣṇavas as proved by the condemnation of the Jains contained in the Nālāyiraprabandham. However, the Buddhists and Jains continued to exist in the Pallava kingdom though in a small minority.[1]

Regarding religious persecution, it is said that Mahēndravarman persecuted the Śaivas, especially their leader, Appar, when the monarch adhered to the Jaina faith. And there are indications in Appar's padigams that he was persecuted, still it is doubtful if Mahēndravarman was personally responsible for the persecution. Another instance of religious persecution is referred to in Pallava Malla's reign when Vaiṣṇavism under the royal patronage was at its height.

A dark side to the religious history of Pallava Malla.

It would be wrong to present the religious history of the time of Pallava Malla as one of uniform tolerance towards the different religious sects in the kingdom. The general policy of the Pallava monarchs was indeed tolerant, but undoubtedly there were exceptions. The propagation of Vaiṣṇavism in the days of Pallava Malla carried on with a view to extinguish the so-called rival sects, viz., the Buddhists and the Jainas, appears to have been marked by a persecution of the followers of these creeds. Open condemnation of these sects by the champions of Vaiṣṇavism have been already noticed. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi and Tirumaṅgai, the two contemporaries of Pallava Malla, made all attempts to put down particularly the Bauddhas.

An incident connected with the activities of Tirumaṅgai describes him as having plundered the Bauddha Vihāra of Nāgapaṭṭinam. He is believed to have abstracted the golden image of Buddha which, when melted, served amply for the purpose of building the fourth prākāra of the Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam, besides a number of small shrines.[2]

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[1] We shall have occasion to mention the Buddhists and the Jains in the Chapters relating to their centres of learning and culture.

There is no direct historical evidence corroborating this incident contained in the *Guruparamparai*, but the facts that Tirumaṅgai was by birth and profession a robber (kaḷḷar) and that Nāgapaṭṭinam is known to have been a famous Buddhist centre since the 9th century for which we have epigraphical proof lend support to the theft of Tirumaṅgai.

Now to turn to epigraphy, the last few lines of the Udayēndiram grant run as follows:

> " Ēvam catus sīmāntarām nadīkulyājalābhōg (y) ām
> sasarvaparihāram anyān adharma kṛtyān
> vināśya bhūmindattavān."

that is to say, (the king) gave the land included within these four boundaries, with the use of the water of the rivers and canals, with all exemptions, having destroyed (all) persons whose observances were not in accordance with the law of Dharma.

Commenting on this passage, Thomas Foulkes remarks: "At the close of the boundaries of the present donation, there is an allusion to the former Jaina proprietors or at least co-inhabitants of one or both of the villages here united, who are described as 'those whose deeds are offensive to religion' and their expulsion at the time of the formation of this endowment is a little black mark of the religious intolerance of Pallava Malla, which was, however, in close accordance with the spirit of the age".[3]

Foulkes thinks that "Anyān adharma kṛtyān" refers to the Jaina proprietors of the villages. I have discussed elsewhere the significance of two inscriptions from the North Arcot District, one dated in the fourteenth year of Nandivarman and the other in the fiftieth year of the same king and concluded that these inscriptions showed not only the existence of Jainism in these parts of the Pallava kingdom, but also the fact that these religionists were not persecuted. Now it seems paradoxical to find that the Udayēndiram grant of the same king from the same district seems to record the forcible seizure of the property of the Jainas and the grant of it to Hindu Brahmans. In the light of the open crusades of the contemporary Āḻvārs against the Buddhists, it seems probable that "anyān adharma kṛtyān" is a reference to the Buddhists and not

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[2] For the Bauddha vestiges at Nāgappaṭṭinam, see *Ind. Ant.*, vii. pp. 224 ff, xxii. p. 45, XXXV. p. 228 and Tanjore Gazetteer, p. 248.

[3] Ind. Ant., vol. VIII, p. 281.

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to the Jainas, though so far as the conduct of Pallava Malla was concerned, it makes no difference whether he persecuted the Jainas or the Buddhists.

That the long reign of Pallava Malla was not free from religious persecution is also confirmed by a panel inside the very temple built by Nandivarman, viz., the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñcī. This panel (Pl. X. fig. 20) finds a place in the lower row of sculptures on the western wall and to the right of the entrance to the verandah running round the central shrine. It is a clear representation of two men being impaled. The seated figure behind which stands a chauri bearer (a woman) may be identified with Nandivarman Pallava Malla. The men who are being impaled might have been either prisoners of war, or criminals or heretics of the Buddha sect. If they were criminals, the representations would only reveal the prevalent practice of a judicial punishment which existed in South India and in the Deccan as late as the days of the Vijayanagar kings, but what makes us suppose that they were Buddhists is that the panel is located in the midst of others which throw light on the religious policy of the Pallava king.

To the right of this very panel we find installed in a shrine an Āḻvār probably one of the first three Āḻvārs who by that time came to be worshipped by their followers. To the right of the Āḻvār we find a shrine resembling the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple and this series of panels is preceded by a sculpture of Viṣṇu, perhaps a miniature sculpture of the same deity installed within Paramēśvara Viṇṇagar. It appears that this row of panels represents nothing less than the establishment of Vaiṣṇavism on the destruction of the heretics.

It is equally clear that Pallava Malla enforced his policy by rather harsh methods and that he commanded popular support in the cause he followed. For Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi applauds a policy of extermination towards heretics in the following verse from *Tirumālai* where Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi considers it his duty to chop off the heads of the Śamaṇas and Śākyas:

> "Veṟuppoḍu śamaṇarumuṇḍar vidiyil śākkiyargaḷ ninpāl
> Poṟụppariyanagaḷ pēśil pōvadēnōyadāgi
> Kuṟippenakkaḍaiyumāgil kūḍumēl, talaiyaiyāngē
> Aṟụppadē karumam kaṇḍāy arangamānagaruḷānē".[4]

The spirit of the age then was not unfavourable to religious persecution or its portrayal on the walls of a temple of the victorious creed.

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[4] Text/Verse 8.

TEMPLE

The religious life of the people centred round the local temple. It ministered to their spiritual life. Royal patronage was constantly given and we have innumerable references to endowments by ordinary men and women. Nearly all the stone inscriptions on the walls of temples belonging to the period record gifts to them. The endowments consisted of sometimes a whole village and in certain cases large units of agricultural lands. Very often we get references to endowments of lamps "Nondāviḷakku" and gifts of ghee and oil for burning the same. As a matter of fact it seems to us that the building of temples and religious endowments were coveted objects both by the Pallava kings and by their subjects as they indicated their spiritual outlook in life.

TEMPLE ESTABLISHMENT

Taḷipparivāram

The retinue of servants attached to a temple was known by the collective name "Kōyil Parivāram" or Taḷipparivāram.[5] It included all the servants of the institution from the arcakas down to those who picked flowers for worship. The strength of the parivāram depended mainly upon the wealth of the temple, which again was based on several factors. If a king or a queen or a feudatory chief, either built or patronised a temple, large endowments were usually made to maintain a number of men and women for services inside the shrine. Examples of these may be cited. The Kapōtīśvara temple at Cezarla in the Guṇṭūr district was under the patronage of the great Mahēndravarman I as may be seen from a valuable though fragmentary inscription[6] in the shrine. We read among the broken sentences in the end of the record: "Kapōtīśvarādhyakṣa dvādaśadēvakarmibhyaḥ."[7] The fact that there were twelve men to supervise the services inside the shrine, points to a temple parivāram whose strength must have been much greater than the number of supervisors.

The reference to the twelve superintendents in the statement "adhyakṣadvādaśa-dēvakarmibhyaḥ" seems to be a use of a technical term like the Aṣṭādaśa-parihāram. It is not unlikely that twelve was considered the model number, each superintendent being set over in charge of specific duties in the shrine.

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[5] 14 of 1893 ; 301 of 1901 and 303 of 1901.

[6] 155-A of 1899. S.I.I., vol. VI, No. 595.

[7] Line 38.

The Śiva temple in Kūram was built by a member of the Pallava family and adequate provision was made for the upkeep of the temple and the conduct of regular worship in it.[8]

In a few cases, large public and private gifts enriched the temple treasury mostly owing to the importance of the temple. Several Śiva shrines attracted the attention of generous bodies in the later Pallava and early Cōḷa period, partly through their antiquity, and partly because the Nāyanārs had worshipped at these shrines. Sometimes special grants were bestowed on a temple for the celebration of particular festivals in the year and on these occasions extra servants were employed for service in the temple.[9]

The daily duties in a shrine, however small in size and poor in wealth, could not be carried on without those who had to perform the pūjā inside the garbhagṛha and one or two men for assistance. This may be considered the minimum number of servants employed in a temple; large numbers depended entirely on the size and financial status of the respective temples.

Arcakas

Varm

A certain number of men were appointed to perform the divine rites (Dēvakarman) inside the *sanctum sanctorum* and these were always Brahmans, as is clearly evidenced by their names such as Ananta-Śivācārya, Pullaśarman, Dattaśivan, Madhusūdana Śivan and Ananta Śivan. Those attached to Śiva temples were variously called Arcakas[10] (because they do the arcanā), Gurukkaḷ,[11] and Śivabrāhmaṇas or Śaivācāryas.[12] In an inscription of Nandivarman II, the Śivabrāhmaṇas are described as those who perform the worship inside the garbhagṛha[13] "Tiruvuṇṇāḻigaiyuḷḷārādittupaśarikkum śivabrāhmaṇarkku."

In later Pallava inscriptions we find that those who performed the divine rites inside Viṣṇu temples were designated by the title Bhaṭṭa. Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, the son of Damōdara Bhaṭṭa, was doing the arcanā inside the Śrī Gōvardhana temple at Uttiramērūr in the time of Kampavarman.[14] (Pl. IV. Fig. 8.)

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[8] S.I.I., vol. I—Kūram Grant.

[9] 208 of 1901.

[10] 7 of 1898.

[11] 84 of 1892.

[12] S.I.I., vol. I, p. 154.

[13] S.I.I., vol. III, part I, p. 91.

[14] 6 & 64 of 1898.

In the Triplicane inscription[15] of Dantivarman the priest of the temple is called Kulangīḻār. Kula stands for Dēvakula used for both Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. The literary meaning of 'Kulangīḻār' is 'temple proprietor' and as Hultzsch has pointed out, may denote either the temple authorities or the temple priests.

Often several arcakas were appointed in a temple and each of them performed his duties by turn.[16] The number of arcakas varied from two to five or more. Their office was hereditary and in certain cases a number of brothers[17] from one family were chosen as arcakas and their sons succeeded them in due course. For conducting the worship inside the Śiva temple at Kūram, two Brahmans, their sons and grandsons were appointed. The Muktēśvara shrine had three Brahmans—"Innilattāl ūr varindadellām Datta śivanukkum, Dharmak kaṇṇarukkum, Anantaśivanukkum, Ivarkaḷ makkaḷ makkaḷē arcanai śeyduṇṇappaṇittukkoḍuttēn;" and the Śiva temple at Kīḻpulam had two arcakas, Kuḻi Śivan and his brother Madhusūdana Śivan.[18]

The daily duties of the arcakas were chiefly confined to the garbhagṛha. They bathed the deities, decorated them with flowers, prepared the necessary offerings (naivēdyams) and recited the mantras during worship. They also received the gifts in kind such as ghee and oil for the nondāviḷakku and fruits and cocoanuts made as offerings to the God.[19] In a few cases, they supervised the other servants attached to the temple. The Kūram grant relates that the arcakas of the Śiva temple in the village were also placed in charge of the temple repairs—"Vidyā vinīta Pallava Paramēśvaragṛha iha ca Dēvakarma—navakarmārtham[20] Kūrattācārya putra Ananta Śivācāryaḥ (datta) iti (P)ulla Śarmā dvau putra [pautrā] ājñaptāḥ." Usually, great care was bestowed on the choice of the arcakas in temples and this is testified to by an inscription of Nandivarman to which we have already referred. The record contains a detailed regulation of an arcanābhōga by the sabhā at Uttiramērūr. Four paṭṭi of land was endowed for conducting the arcanā in the Tiruppulivalam temple and the individual selected was a Brahman Brahmacāri who was able to recite the Vēda and was of a good character—" Pārāyaṇamārgam-Vēdam-Vallānā-yuktanāgiya Brāhmaṇan Brahmacāriyai . . . ".[21]

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[15] Ep. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 295. See also 168 of 1904 for the same term used of a Śiva temple.

[16] 7 of 1898 from Uttiramērūr says that the arcakas of the Tiruppulivalam Uḍaiyār temple was appointed for a term of three years on each occasion.

[17] 27 of 1930-31. Inscription of Nandivarman dated 19th year. Lines 12 and 13: "Ittaḷi arcippōm Āttiraiyan Nārāyaṇan ivan Tambimārum Innālvōm."

[18] 152 of 1916. That the performers of the divine rites inside the sanctum held their office in heredity, is clear from statements contained in the later Pallava inscriptions, as: "Śrīdharabhaṭṭan magan Dāmōdara bhaṭṭanukku putrapautrargaḷ upāsittuṇṇa uḍaiyānāga kuḍuttōm."

[19] 35 of 1903.

[20] Hultzsch translates "Nava Karma" into "repairs of the temple" which, I think, is the correct rendering of the word. S.I.I., vol. I, p. 154.

The arcakas were always maintained by the temple treasury. In a few cases private gifts were specially bestowed in favour of those who conducted the arcanā inside the sanctum[22] and these were known as 'arcanā-bhōga' which included in certain cases those enjoyed by other members of the parivāram besides the arcakas.

The other members of the Parivāram.

Since it is difficult to find uniformity in the number of the other members of the parivāram, and the nature of the specific duties performed by them, we may take a few examples from Pallava epigraphy, and notice in detail the services rendered by them inside the shrine.

THE ŚIVA TEMPLE, KURAM

In the time of Paramēśvaravarman I, the Śiva temple in Kūram had :—(1) Two Brahmans for carrying on the worship of the temple. They were also managers of the shrine. The cultivable lands in the village were divided into twenty-five parts and three parts were allotted to the above two Brahmans. (2) A man was appointed for watering the maṇḍapam daily and keeping a light therein. He was given one share. (3) Then there was the reader of the *Mahābhārata* and he was given one share. The Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates also make provision for the reader of the *Mahābhārata* and assign one share of the cultivable lands.[23]

THE MUKTESVARA SHRINE

The inscription of the queen Dharmamahādēvī yields greater details regarding the parivāram of this temple in Kāñcī.

1. Three Brahmans, their sons and grandsons, were recognised as the performers of the pūjā inside the garbhagṛha, and they were

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[21] 71 of 1898.
[22] 72 of 1898.
[23] S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 534.

to enjoy the revenue accruing from the payment of the inhabitants of the Ūr.[24]

2. Next are mentioned two men, Amudaraiyan Nāyaṟṟukkaṇi and Mādavaśarman,[25] who were appointed to beat the Taṭṭaḻi and were given two koṟṟu of rice.

Krishna Śastri has interpreted Taṭṭaḻikoṭṭi occurring in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates as 'drummer'. This seems inaccurate. Taṭṭaḻi is a metallic plate like the śēmakkalam and was beaten during the time of oblation to the god in the temple. Further, of the two taṭṭaḻikoṭṭis recorded in the Muktēśvara inscription, Mādavaśarman was definitely a Brahman and it was very unusual to employ a Brahman for beating the drum. Therefore, Taṭṭaḻikoṭṭuvār must be understood as those who beat the metallic plate during the time of offering.

However, it is interesting to notice in later Pallava inscriptions that the meaning of 'taṭṭaḻikoṭṭuvār' was extended and seems to have included the musical troupe of the temple. Sixteen men were appointed as taṭṭaḻikoṭṭuvār in the Mānasarpa Viṣṇugrha in the time of Kampavarman,[26] and it is unlikely that all the sixteen were employed to beat the metallic plates. Besides "Taṭṭaḻikoṭṭuvār", we meet with the terms "Śrībali koṭṭuvār and "Tiruppali koṭṭuvār". It is clear that these two terms are synonymous. Śrībali is a particular kind of offering to God and those that beat the gong during that time were known by the name "Śrībali koṭṭuvār". In an inscription of Vairamēghavarman,[27] tiruppali koṭṭuvār included the man who played on the metallic plate, the drummer and also the trumpet players.

3. After the Taṭṭaḻikoṭṭi, the Muktēśvara inscription gives the names of a number of women who were evidently dancers attached to the temple. From the later half of the inscription, we learn that these were thirty-two in number, and that twelve more kūttigaḷ were added and the total number of women was forty-four. These forty-four women were fed by the tavaśigaḷ and rations were given

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[24] The text is 'Ūra varindadellām', which may be split as either ūr varindadellām or ūravar indadellām.

[25] Mādaśarman should be read as Mādavaśarman.

[26] 208 of 1901. S.I.I., vol. VII, p. 265.

[27] 152 of 1916.

by the managers of the temple. Taḷiāḻvār probably refers to the three Brahman arcakas[28] of the temple.

In an inscription of Māṟambāvaiyār these women-dancers are called "Aḍigaḷmār".[29] They were also known as "Māṇikkattār"[30] and "Kaṇikaiyār". Rudra-gaṇikas were those who were attached to Śiva temples and the famous Paravaiyār, wife of Sundaramūrtti, was a daughter of a family of Rudra gaṇikas.[31]

4. Besides the arcakas, the Mukēśvara temple had five Brahmans to recite the Mantras—Mantrācāryaraivar.

5. Twelve men were asked to keep the temple trim and clean. They were called viḷakkum tavaśigal, who are to be understood not literally as sweepers but as those servants helping in the performance of the Pūja. Tavaśippiḷḷai is usually understood to be a cook for non-Brahman Śaivas and in this inscription we see that the Tavaśigaḷ are asked to feed the women-dancers of the taḷi.

The total number of the parivāram seems to have been fifty-four; and the revenues from a whole village were assigned in favour of the temple establishment.

The Tiruvallam Śiva Temple

In the time of Nandivarman III, the Śiva temple in Tiruvallam possessed the following members for its services:

1. Śiva-Brāhmaṇas—the number is not specified. They were given 500 kāḍi of paddy for their services.
2. Śrībali koṭṭuvār—received 500 kāḍi of paddy.
3. Those who picked flowers for temple garlands, the singers of the Tiruppadigam, and those who rendered several other services obtained 400 kāḍi of paddy.[32]

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[28] "Tavasigaḷ uṇṇakkoḍukka taḷiāḻvār ūṭṭarāga panniruvar kūttiga(ḷai) meydu koḍuttēn.
Mudal muppadiruvarum ippaniru(varē)ṟṟi nārpattunālvar kampa (na)ttu kuḍuttēn dharma Mādēviyēn."
The reading "Kūttiga(ḷai)meydu koḍuttēn" is not clear. It may be "Kūttigaḷaiyum eydu koḍuttēn", in which case the meaning would be "having determined on this number, I have granted". Again, the reading "Kampa(na)ttu koḍuttēn" does not convey any relevant sense. Since 'kku' is clear in the facsimile, I would read it as "Nārpattunālvarkkum pa(ṇi)ttu koḍuttēn."

[29] 303 of 1901.

[30] 278 and 302 of 1902.

[31] Sundaramūrttipurāṇam, vide Periyapurāṇam.

[32] S.I.I., vol. III, part I.

Apart from the temples which we have noted above, we receive stray information from inscriptions regarding the temple parivāram of a few more shrines. The Śiva temple in Kīḻpulam[33] had among its 'Tiruppali koṭṭuvār', a man who beat the *śegaṇḍi* which is a large metallic plate gong, two men for blowing the *ekkāḷam*[34] which is a trumpet and also an uvaiccan[35] to play on the drum. This inscription also includes a carpenter among the temple servants, and he is reported to have inscribed the record on stone.

The inscription of Māṟambāvaiyār includes five māṇigaḷ as a part of the temple establishment.[36] "Tirukkōyil paṇiśeyyum māṇigaḷaivar." Māṇigaḷ are students who were perhaps attached to the maṭha of the temple.[37]

We read in the Tēvāram that flower gardens were attached to many temples and those who looked after these gardens also came under the Taḷipparivāram. In some cases the arcakas were placed in charge of the Nandavanam.[38]

The entire parivāram, as we have already seen, was in charge of certain adhyakṣas or āḻvārgaḷ, but later on when the strength of the parivāram in a particular temple increased along with its wealth, an organised committee of men took charge of the affairs and the management of the temple servants. The Amṛtagaṇa at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the time of Aparājita is a specific example of such a committee. This was under the supervision of the village assembly. The Amṛtagaṇa of the later Pallavas invites comparison with the Kōyil Vāriyam[39] of the Cōḷas and the Dēvasthāna committee of the modern days.

The Supreme Mode of Worship

Human Sacrifice and Head Offering.

The sacrifice of human beings on particular occasions and to various gods and goddesses was an element of the ancient religious worship of several nations, though its purpose and form varied.[40] In India, the prevalence of human sacrifice goes back to a remote antiquity. The legend of the son of Ṛcīka, named Śunaśśepha, who was sold by his father for a hundred thousand cows to Ambarīṣa, the king of Ayōdhyā, is related in the Rāmāyaṇa;[41] earlier still the same story occurs in the Aitarēya Brahmaṇa. The ceremony of Puruṣamēdha—that is, sacrifice of a man—is related in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Yajus, though Colebrook thinks that many of these Puruṣamēdhas were not in reality human sacrifices at all.

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[33] 152 of 1916.

[34] "Ekkāḷam Ūduvārum."

[35] Uvaiccan is the same as uvaccan. The Uvaccar or Ōccar are according to Winslow, a caste of drummers at temples. We have "Uvacça vari" which is a tax on drummers—S.I.I., vol. I, p. 108.

[36] 303 of 1901.

[37] We find elsewhere that "Maḍattu Śāṭṭapperumakkaḷ" took charge of a gift to the temple—397 of 1900.

[38] 6 of 1898.

[39] Ep. Rep. 1916, p. 115.

In the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, the Kāpālikas, the Kālāmukhas and the Pāśupatas, the adherents of Vīra Śaivism or the Tantric and Śākta form of worship practised religious rituals comprising offering of wine and blood to Bhairava and Kāḷī. From Hieun Tsang we have a description of the Kāpālikas "with their chaplets of bones round their heads and necks inhabiting holes and crevices of the rocks, like Yakṣas who haunt the place of tombs."[42] Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* mentions temples dedicated to Rudra, Kāḷī and Cāmuṇḍī and contains a full description of a Kāpālika Bhairavācārya. In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa,[43] we hear of Jaḍabharata being carried away to a temple of Kāḷī to be sacrificed. Bhavabhūti in his Mālatīmādhava has an effective scene, in which Aghōraghaṇṭa is represented as about to sacrifice Mālatī to Cāmuṇḍī when she is rescued by her lover.[44] The worship of Bhairava and Durgā are traceable in South India also from very early times.[45] And we have definite proofs of it in the days of the Pallavas from the seventh century onwards.

We have as yet no direct evidence to show that any of the Pallava kings was personally attached to the worship of Śiva in the form of Bhairava, or of Pārvati in the form of Durgā or Kāḷī, like the contemporary kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin[46] and Vākāṭaka dynasties.[47] But that the Kāpālikas, the Kālāmukhas and the Pāśupatas flourished in the Pallava kingdom from the sixth century A.D. is evidenced by the *Tēvāram* and the *Mattavilāsa.* The chief centres of these sects seem to have been Kāñcī,[48] Tiruvoṟṟiyūr,[49] Mayilāpūr,[50] Koḍumbāḷūr,[51] and certain parts of the Tanjore[52] and Trichinopoly[53] Districts.

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[40] Hastings—Encyl. of Religion and Ethics. On "Sacrifices".

[41] Bālakāṇḍa—Chapters 61-62.

[42] Life of Hieun Tsang, Beal, p. 162.

[43] V. 9.

[44] The poet Vākpati who lived in the end of the seventh century, the author of *Gauḍavaho,* describes the Goddess Vindhyāvāsinī in a twofold character, first as a non-Āryan Kāḷī and then as Pārvatī. Wine and human blood were the offerings made to her.—Bombay Sans. Series, Slokas 270-338.

[45] See the references to Durgā worship in *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai.*

[46] The Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman tell us that the kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty were worshippers of the God at Śrī Parvata. Since Śrī Parvata is always identified with the worship of Kāḷī, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin

The prominent place given to Durgā, particularly Mahiṣāsuramardanī among the sculptures of the shrines in Māmallapuram and in Kāñcī, forms further testimony to the prevalence of the worship of this goddess. Attention may be drawn to the sculptures of Bhairavamūrti and Brahmaśiraścchēdamūrti found in the Kailāsanātha temple, Kañcī, as witnesses of the appeal made by the terrible forms of Śiva to his devotees in this period.

The life history of Śiṟuttoṇḍar as recorded in the *Periyapurāṇam,* is of great interest in any discussion of this aspect of Śaivism in the Pallava period. The purāṇam relates that when Śiṟuttoṇḍar was residing in his native place Śengāṭṭanguḍi, leading the life of a Śaiva, on a certain day, Bhairava, in order to test the sincerity of his devotee, took the form of a Kāpālika and entered Śiṟuttoṇḍar's house. The latter invited the Kāpālika for a repast in his house and the Kāpālika agreed on condition that Śiṟuttoṇḍar and his wife provided him for food the cooked flesh of a five year old boy who was the only son of the family. The request was wil-

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kings must have also been devotees of the Goddess Durgā and this is evidenced by the mention of Puruṣamēdha by Mādhavavarman. Ep. Ind. IV. p. 194, note 5.

[47] The Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna is spoken of as "Atyantasvāmi-Mahābhairava-bhakta". Fleet. *Gupta Ins.*, p. 245.

[48] The *Mattavilāsa* speaks of the temple of Ēkāmra as an abode of the Kāpālikas.

[49] Tradition emphatically asserts that the Goddess in Tiruvoṟṟiyūr assumed an Ugra form about the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. demanding animal and human sacrifices and that Śankara visited the place and subdued the Goddess by throwing her into a well and closing its mouth. Madras Ep. Rep., 1912, p. 68.

[50] The temple is dedicated to Kāpālīśvara and forms the subject of a hymn by Sambandar.

[51] Koḍumbāḷūr was a centre of the Kālāmukha sect from the 8th century and this is attested by a later inscription—that of Vikramakēsari. J.O.R. 1933.

[52] Śiṟuttoṇḍar, a native of Śengāṭṭanguḍi, was a worshipper of Bhairava and in the early Cōḷa period "Uttarāpatīśvara" was one of the deities enshrined and worshipped in the Śiva temple.

[53] In the lower cave of the rock-fort at Trichinopoly we have a sculpture of Durgā and a devotee offering his head. This shows that the worshippers of this goddess flourished in this part of the Pallava kingdom.

lingly carried out by the offering of their own and only son Śīrāḷa. The extreme devotion of Śiṟuttoṇḍar and his wife having thus been testified, Bhairava gave back the life of the child and mysteriously disappeared from their presence. It is needless to believe the story in all its details as recorded by Śēkkiḻār, centuries after the lifetime of Śiṟuttoṇḍar; but the significance of the legend regarding the saint is hard to miss especially when it is viewed in the light of other evidences from the sculptures of the period to be cited presently.

It is interesting to note that Bhairava who appeared before Śiṟuttoṇḍar is described in the *Periyapurāṇam* as the God who came from the North (Uttarāpatīśvara). This explains the accepted belief regarding the origin of Vīra Śaivism in South India. There is even today at Śengāṭṭanguḍi, a separate shrine dedicated to this God Uttarāpatināyaka; and several Cōḷa inscriptions [54] record gifts to the same god; and young Śīrāḷa is immortalised by a statue enshrined within the Śiva temple [55] of the same place; and his bronze image is carried every year in procession. [56]

There are curious Pallava sculptures of Durgā attended by some worshippers in significant attitudes; such sculptures are found in Māmallapuram. The first scholar to notice the special significance of these Durgā sculptures is Dr. Vogel. [57] After describing them he concludes that each of them depicts a scene of a head-offering to the goddess Kāḷī and that such an act though it required " a high degree of self-determination and dexterity " did lie within the range of human possibility and cites the evidences from ' Kathāsaritsāgara ' and from Hiralal's paper [58] in support of his view.

We may now consider these sculptures in some detail. The back wall of the Draupadī Ratha at Māmallapuram contains the goddess Durgā standing, not on a buffalo's head, but on a Padmāsana. She has four arms; in the right upper arm she holds the śankha, the left upper arm is damaged, the right lower arm has the abhayahasta whilst the second left hand is placed on the hip. Four gaṇas are attending on her. Of the two devotees who kneel at her feet, the one to the proper right is the man who, though he appears to hold his tuft, is, as pointed out by Vogel, in the act of cutting with a sword his head which he means to offer to his goddess. The significance of the man on the proper left has been ignored by Vogel. He holds his hands in añjali and is engaged in deep concentration. I think the aim is to produce a picture of contrast,—a picture of one devotee who wishes to propitiate the goddess by giving the greatest and the most valued offering, namely his own head; the other devotee who hopes to please his deity by constant and silent prayer at her feet. (Pl. VI. fig. 12)

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[54] 51, 53 and 63 of 1913.

[55] 56 of 1913.

[56] 66 of 1913.

[57] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution,* Vol. VI, pp. 539-543. Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri has translated this article into Tamil in *Kalaimagaḷ,* No. 4, 1932, April.

[58] The Gōḷaka Maṭha. J.B.O.R.S. vol. XIII, p. 144.

The next panel is found in the Varāha maṇḍapa in the same place. The attitude of the goddess and the disposition of her emblems are the same as before. The additions in this panel are the umbrella spread over the head of the goddess, and the lion and the deer. We find again the two devotees. The one to the proper right is, as in the previous picture, about to cut his head off; and the other opposite to him is offering wine in a small cup which he holds in his left hand, while with the other he invokes the goddess. Again, I am inclined to suggest that the action of one devotee is contrasted to that of the other. One offers his head and the other offers wine as substitute for blood.

A third example is noticed in the lower cave at Trichinopoly assigned to the period of Mahēndravarman. Here the goddess is attended by only a single gaṇa. The devotee on the proper right is clearly shown applying his sword to his neck. But the one on the left is just shown in the act of kneeling before the goddess, sad and dejected. He is not shown as if he is in prayers but as one who has offered his share to the goddess. One wonders if the ball of rice which the goddess holds in her right palm is the offering that was made by this devotee and intended as a substitute for his head which he was not able to offer.[59] If this was so, this picture again presents the contrast in modes of worship.

The Śiva temple at Puḷḷamangai represents yet another head offering scene. Here the goddess appears more terrific than in the three previous sculptures. She is standing on the head of a mahiṣa. Dr. Vogel describes:—"The one to the right of Durgā is shown in the same position as the corresponding figures discussed above, but in the present case there can be no doubt that he is represented in the action of cutting off his own head as the offering to the goddess. In the same way the kneeling person on the left hand side of the goddess appears to be cutting a piece of flesh from his thigh."

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[59] Fitting analogies may be drawn from *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* and *Śilappadikāram*. In the former, we have one hundred and eighty-five men of various specified tribes, characters and professions, who are bound to eleven yūpas or posts and after recitation of a hymn, they are liberated unhurt and oblations of butter are offered on the sacrificial fire. (See also *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, S.B.E., vol. XLIV, part V, J. Eggling, p. 410.) In the *Śilappadikāram*, we read that rice mixed with blood of sheep was offered as a substitute for human flesh and blood.

This picture once again supports our view that each of these panels is intended to portray a scene where the worshipper who offers the greatest prize is placed as a contrast to the other more ordinary worshipper of the same goddess.

Besides those described by Vogel, there is one more representation which we shall include here, though it is very doubtful if it is intended to depict a head offering motif. The Varāhasvāmi temple at Māmallapuram contains a relief of Durgā which, unlike the other two noticed in the same place, looks very ferocious. Durgā is seen standing on the head of a mahiṣa and has eight hands in which she holds different weapons. She is attended by two gaṇas, the usual lion and the deer. Behind her, stands a pillar, the top of which contains flames of fire. To the right of Durgā stands a lady attendant who holds a long sharp sword in her right hand; to the left stands another attendant with a long staff. At her feet kneel two men. The one on the proper left holds a small wine cup in his left hand while with the other hand he is invoking the goddess. It is interesting to notice in this panel that the devotee on the left holds also an axe which he has allowed to rest on his left shoulder. Now, this devotee is not represented in the act of giving his head as in the previous panels. It appears as if he is going to offer the head of the man who is on the proper right of the goddess.[60]

This individual on the proper right is very handsome. His hair is dressed in a beautiful fashion; he wears patrakuṇḍalas and other jewels. If he was the intended victim to be sacrificed, then the panel represents another aspect of the offering of human sacrifice to the Goddess Durgā; that is, not the surrender of one's own head but that of another. We have evidences that this sort of human sacrifice, both to Śiva and Kāḷī, prevailed in India till late in her history. The Koṅgu Vīras are said to have cut off their heads and tongues as offerings to the god residing at Śrī Śailam.[61]

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[60] *Hindu Iconography,* Gopinātha Raō, vol. I, part II. A sketch of this Durgā is contained in page 342.

Śāntalinga, a Vīra Śaiva and an officer of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, cut off the heads of all the Śvētāmbara Jains living in the neighbourhood of Śrī Śailam as a sacrifice to Śiva residing on the same hill.[62]

These later references, and the contemporary sculptural representations taken together with the legend of the sacrifice of Śiruttoṇḍar's son, only strengthen the view already expressed by Vogel, that human sacrifices and head offerings to the dark forms of Śiva and Durgā were performed in the days of the Pallavas.

It is impossible to identify the individuals who are represented in these panels as offering their heads to the goddess Kāḷī. However, in the case of the Puḷḷamangai panel, Vogel suggested that the devotee who offered his head was perhaps one of the founders of the temple. While there is nothing to contradict Vogel's surmise, one need not apply the same to the other panels also. It is more likely that the sculptures are intended as a visible expression of one of the esteemed practices of Durgā worshippers prevalent in the kingdom at that time. We are not able to discover the object of these head offerings in this period, for we have no evidences other than these sculptures. We cannot say if they were expiatory[63] in nature and intended to deprecate the anger of the goddess. As pointed out already the head offering scenes in Pallavas sculptures seem to indicate, that the object was the propitiation of that divinity by offering to her the most precious gift possible.

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[61] 20 of 1915. This inscription found on the Nandi maṇḍapa in Śrī Śailam belongs to a Reḍḍi of the Vijayanagar period. It is stated therein that in this maṇḍapa many heroes voluntarily cut off their heads and tongues.

[62] Madras Ep. Rep. 1915, p. 93. The Khonds are believed to have offered human sacrifices to the Earth Goddess. According to S. C. Mitra vestiges of the custom of offering human sacrifices to the water deity are traceable in the folklore of the Sanṭals. J.B.O.R.S. 1926, p. 153 and also 1928.

[63] The sacrifices of the Druids, the Scythians and the Phoenicians and the Thārgelia of the Athenians were expiatory in character and were performed under an impression of fear.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS

The three types.

We may classify the educational institutions of the Pallavas under three heads: the Hindu, the Buddhist and Jaina centres of learning. In the early days of Pallava rule, Buddhism and Jainism were still living forces in the Deccan and South India. Though the members of these sects remained scattered in the kingdom, their existence could not be ignored by the state. And Buddhist and Jaina centres of learning continued to flourish till the last days of Pallava rule. But the predominant position was occupied by the growing Hindu educational institutions. These were great centres of Sanskrit learning, and Sanskrit was also the language of the court. The kings uniformly extended their patronage to these centres which attracted scholars from all parts of India and they were followed in this by their nobles and feudatories. Let us first consider a few of these Hindu educational institutions.

The Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī.

The Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī first attracts our attention. Its presence did most towards making Kāñcī a cultural seat in South India in the days of the Pallavas.

If we can maintain the derivation of the Ghaṭikā from the Sanskrit root 'Ghaṭ'[1] which means 'to be busy with,' 'strive after,' 'exert oneself for', 'be intimately occupied with anything', then ghaṭikā may be understood as the place or institution where scholars and students strove after knowledge. But an equally plausible explanation of ghaṭikā has been put forward by Kielhorn. He identifies ghaṭikā with goṣṭhī[2] and concludes that it was an establishment consisting of a group of holy and learned Brahmans probably in each case founded by a king. Bearing these suggestions in mind let us consider the nature of the Ghaṭikā of the Pallavas.

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[1] Ghaṭaka—exerting oneself; striving for: "Ētē satpuruṣāḥ parārtha ghaṭakāḥ svārthān parityajya yē—Bh. 274. Ghaṭa—an endeavour, effort, exertion. The Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ inscription of Nandivarman II has Kaṭakaiyār and not Kaṭikaiyār.

[2] Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 23 and n. 1. See also the various meanings of Ghaṭa in the Pāli Text Society's Pāli English Dictionary, edited by Rhys Davids and William Stede.

We have a number of epigraphical references to the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī, the earliest being the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman.[3] The discoverer of this inscription, Lewis Rice,[4] who first edited it, fixed its age, on palæographical grounds, as the middle of the 5th century A.D. (450). While Bühler placed it at the beginning of the fifth century (400 A.D.),[5] Keilhorn assigned it to the sixth century A.D.[6] Even adopting the latest date proposed, by Keilhorn, we find that according to the genealogy given in the same inscription there are two generations separating the donor Kākusthavarman from his ancestor Mayūraśarman whose connection with the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī is recorded on the pillar at Tāḷagunda.[7] This would give him a date about the middle of the fifth century. But in fact, Mayūraśarman seems to have belonged to a much earlier time. On the strength of the newly discovered Candravalli inscription, the most recent writer on the Kadamba history, Mr. Moreas, gives the dates 345-370 A.D. for Mayūraśarman.[8] Thus, we may conclude that the history of the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī to which Mayūraśarman sought admission as one begging for knowledge,[9] began at least from the beginning of the fourth century, if not earlier; for some time must have elapsed since it began before it attained sufficient importance to attract students from parts of the country outside the Pallava kingdom.[10] And we hear of its existence as late as the end of the eighth century A.D.

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[3] Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 24 contains also a facsimile.

[4] Ep. Carnatica, Vol. VII, p. 200.

[5] Indian Antiquary, Vol. Vol. XXV, p. 27.

[6] Ep. Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 31.

[7] In the Sikārpūr Taluka of the Ṣimōga District of the Mysore State.

[8] *The Kadamba kula*—Moraes, p. 14.

[9] Mayūraśarman is said in the inscription to have entered the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī as a tārkkuka ('Ghaṭikām Vivēśa asu tārkkukaḥ'). The word 'tārkkuka' is given in Hēmacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, v. 388, as synonym of Yācaka, etc., and is explained in a gloss on Rājataranginī III. 254. S. V. Venkatēśvara translates the passage thus:—Mayūraśarman 'entered the Ghaṭika of Kāñcī to gather crumbs of knowledge' and refers to 'Piṇḍa tārkkuka' in 'Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras,' '*Indian culture through the ages,*' p. 243, Note I.

[10] Mayūraśarman was evidently not a native of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. He seems to have come from the Deccan.

Composition of the Ghaṭikā.

That two orthodox Brahmans Mayūraśarman and his preceptor Vīraśarman were ambitious of entering the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī is sufficient proof that it was an institution which consisted of a number of very learned Brahmans. This is borne out by the Kaśākuḍi plates which refer to 'Sva Ghaṭikām bhūdēvatām'[11]—(His own) Ghaṭikā consisting of the (dēvas of the earth), Brahmans. Nevertheless, the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant[12] speaks twice of the Ghaṭikā as 'dvijānām Ghaṭikām' meaning 'the Ghaṭikā of the twice born'. They leave no room for doubt that it was composed entirely of the higher classes.

Kielhorn compares the Ghaṭikā with the later but similar institution known as Brahmapurī.[13] Epigraphy presents[14] Brahmapurīs as settlements of learned Brahmans consisting of poets, philosophers, disputants and orators. The village of Nirantanūr in the Cuddapah District was a Brahmapurī as recorded in an inscription of Madhurāntaka Pottappi Cōḷa Nallamsittaraśan.[15] There were three Brahmapurīs in Belgaum[16] and one of them had thirty-eight Brahman families devoted to the study of the languages and literature. It should be noted, however, that the Ghaṭikā is always said to be a corporation of dvijas, and not exclusively of Brahmans. The earlier institution was thus more broad based in its composition than its later counterpart.

It must not be supposed that the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī was a unique institution. We hear of Ghaṭikās in other parts of South India and Deccan. The Cikkulla plates[17] of Vikramēndravarman II of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty speaks of a ghaṭikā and several Kannaḍa inscriptions of the 11th and 12th century A.D. from the Mysore State relate to ghaṭikās and ghaṭikā sthānas.[18] In all the above cases the Ghaṭikās were institutions of learning just like the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī.

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[11] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part III, p. 349, line 59.

[12] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part V, p. 508, 11, 12 and 20.

[13] Kielhorn, Ep. Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 26.

[14] Ep. Carnatica VIII, Sk. 123.

[15] 570 of 1907, Cuddapah.

[16] 16. Ep. Carnatica, Vol. VIII, Intr. p. iv (Sk.), 123.

[17] Ep. Indica, Vol. IV, p. 196: "Yathāvidhi viniryyāpita ghaṭikāvāpta puṇya samcayasya." The original translation of Kielhorn is 'who acquired a store of merit by emptying water jars.' This is not correct.

[18] Ep. Carnatica Si. 23 of 1167, A.D., Sk. 197 of 1182, & Cu 178 of 1442.

One Cōḷa inscription, however, from the Ponnēri Taluk of the Chingleput District which Professor Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri has assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the time of Rājēndra I will interest us, in this connection. While describing the provenance of a merchant corporation the following statement is made :—

> " Nānku tiśai yāyiramum padineṭṭuppaṭṭanamum
> muppattiraṇḍu veḷarpuramum arupattunānku
> kaṭikā stāvanattu cceṭṭiyuñ jeṭṭi putranum "

that is to say : ' the Śeṭṭis (merchants) and the sons of Śeṭṭis from the thousand (districts) of the four quarters, the eighteen paṭṭaṇams (port towns) and thirty-two Veḷarpurams (?) and the sixty-four ghaṭikā sthāpanas (?) "[19]

' Ghaṭikāsthāpanas ' seems to be the same as ' Ghaṭikāsthānas ' and we are surprised to find here śeṭṭis and śeṭṭi putras laying claim to the sixty-four ghaṭikā-sthānas. Obviously the ghaṭikās of the śeṭṭis could not have stood in the same relation to them as the ghaṭikās and Brahmapuris mentioned earlier did to the dvijas and Brahmans. We have to suppose either that the term ' ghaṭikā ' received an extension of its meaning and was applied to places where merchants strove for profit—trade cities ; or more probably, that the śeṭṭis endowed and maintained sixty-four of the usual ghaṭikās out of the proceeds of their lucrative profession.

The numerical strength of the Ghaṭikā.

To form an idea of the exact numerical strength of the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī is not easy but that it was composed of a considerable number of students is certain. The Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription of Nandivarman Pallava Malla informs us that the deputation which waited on Hiraṇyavarman included a group from the ghaṭika[20] and the Kāñcī inscription of Vikramāditya II[21] refers to the members of the Ghaṭikā as the ' Mahājanamān '. A Tamil inscription from Tiruvallam (North Arcot) dated in the fifty-second regnal year of Nandivarman Pallava Malla contains the phrase ' Ghaṭikai Ēḻāyiravar '[22] that is to say, the seven thousand members of the Ghaṭikā. For reasons which will be seen later, I believe that the inscription does not speak of the Ghatikā of Kāñcī but of a different one. Still, it is interesting to observe here the number 'seven thousand'. It is evident that the Ghaṭikā in the time of Nandivarman Pallava Malla did consist of at least several hundreds of Brahmans for we need not suppose that the number 'seven thousand' was based on any accurate statistical evidence. References to the membership of Ghatikās in terms of thousands seem to have been common for we find in the Kannaḍa inscriptions 'ghaṭikā sahasra' occurring as an epithet before the names of Brahmans. Among the number of Brahmans mentioned in the Heligare plates of the Western Ganga king Śivamāra we have one who is called 'Ghaṭikā sahasrāya Hārīta-sa gotrāya Māhadhava Śarmmaṇē'.[23] The appearance of an arbitrator (madhyasthan) in three of Pārthivēndravarman's inscriptions who is called 'trairājya ghaṭikā madhyasthan mūvāyiravan', and in another 'mūvāyiravan trairājya ghaṭikā madhyasthan' may also be noticed here. It is quite likely that this particular ghaṭikā drew its members from three different places (trairājya) each unit being represented by thousand persons and the madhyasthan himself was one among the three thousand, (mūvāyiravan). Thus again we see that the numerical value of the ghaṭikā is expressed in terms of thousands.

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[19] " A Tamil Merchant Guild in Sumatra "—p. 6.

[20] S.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 10, Section A, line 1 ; Section 1, line 1.

[21] Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 360, line 9.

[22] S.I.I., Vol. III, Part I, p. 91 : " Idu aṟittān kaḍigai ēḻāyaravaraiyum konṟa pāvattu paḍuvān." Dr. Hultzsch translates ' Kaḍigai Ēḻāyiruvar ' into ' permanent members of the assembly ' which is a mistake. In the facsimile we can easily make out the text as Kaḍigai ēḻāyiravar.

It seems to me that the terms ēḻāyiravar, sahasra and mūvāyiravar only show the relative size of the institution rather than a correct counting of heads therein. We have in fact an example of the use of thousands in the former sense in the case of the famous 'Tillaimūvāyiravar' the large body of religious and learned Brahmans associated with the temple of Naṭarāja in Cidambaram.[24] To this day at Tiruveḷḷaṟai in the Trichinopoly District there are a few Vaiṣṇava devotees, the residents of the village, who call themselves descendants of the 'three thousand and seven hundred'.[25]

It is interesting to note that this 'Three-thousand and seven hundred' gets mentioned in a Pallava inscription of the place dated in the fourth year of Dantivarman. It says that the 'three thousand and seven hundred' of the village shall protect this charity—

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[23] Ep. Carnatica, Mandya Taluk, Vol. III, p. 108. However, Kielhorn suggests that the phrase is 'ghaṭikā sāhasāya' Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 26, Note 1; but 'Ghaṭikā sahasra' may well be the Sanskrit rendering of the title 'Kaḍikai-āyiravan' cf. Muvāyiravan that follows in the text, whether this would mean that the *ghaṭikā* comprised roughly 1000 members and that each of them bore this title cannot be satisfactorily decided.

[24] 'Tillaimūvāyiravar' is only a traditional number now.

[25] I learnt of this when I visited the place on 29-5-32.

'Idu rakṣippār ivvūr mūvāyirattu eḻunūṟṟuvar'.[26] Further the writer of one of the inscriptions of Rāja Rāja I, found at Māmallapuram is a certain Tiruvaḍigaḷ Maṇikaṇṭan, a native of Tiruveḷḷaṟai.[27] He describes himself as one of the three thousand and seven hundred of the village. Since Tiruveḷḷaṟai is one of the early Viṣṇu-sthalas celebrated in the hymns of Periyāḻvār and Tirumaṅgai, and since we know that Vaiṣṇavism had made sufficient progress by the time of Dantivarman Pallava, we may infer that the "Tiruveḷḷaṟai mūvāyirattu eḻuṇūṟṟuvar' were a body of Vaiṣṇava devotees associated with the Puṇḍarīkākṣa Perumāḷ temple in the place and stood parallel to the Śiva Brahmaṇas known by the name 'Tillai Mūvāyiravar'.

The meeting place of the Ghaṭikā.

We are unable to furnish direct information as to the meeting place or situation of the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī. Since a study of early South Indian history shows that learning, such as the study of the Vēdas, Angas, Mīmāmsā etc., and the imparting of the knowledge of the classics were in many cases associated with temples, we may not be far wrong if we suppose that the learned Brahmans of the Ghaṭikā gathered together for their study and discussions in some temples at Kāñcī. The Ēkāmrēśvara[28] and the Tirumēṟṟaḷi[29] are two of the oldest shrines in the city, whose origin goes back to the pre-Pallava days and it is probable that one served as the Ghaṭikā-sthāna of Kāñcī. There are also a few hints in Pallava inscriptions on the basis of which we may state that the famous Kailāsanātha temple was the meeting place of the Ghaṭikā in the days of Rājasimha and his successors. (Pl. V. fig. 9.)

The building of the Kailāsanātha temple and the reorganisation of the Ghaṭikā by Rājāsimha are mentioned in a single verse in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, thus closely connecting the former with the latter institution.[30] Further, we know that the Cāḷukyan king Vikramāditya II, after his wars with the Pallava king Nandivarman

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[26] Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 157.

[27] "Ipparaiśu nagarattārum pēriḷamaiyārum śolla eḻudinēn
innagarattu karaṇattān tiruvaḍigaḷ maṇikaṇthanānān
Tiruvel(l)aṟai mūvāyirattu eḻunūṟṟuvan."—S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 65.

[28] This is mentioned in the *Mattavilāsa* and sung by Appar and others.

[29] See Appar's hymn on the deity of the temple.

[30] "Tatputrasūnurnarasimhavarmā
Pūnarvyadhādyō Ghaṭikām dvijānām.
Śilāmayam vēśma śaśāṅkamaulēḥ
Kailāsakalpañca Mahēndrakalpaḥ."

Pallava Malla, restored the wealth of the Rājasimhēśvaragṛham, a creditable act indeed on the part of the enemy king! And the inssciption that records this fact says: "Those who destroy these letters and the stability of the king's charity which was thus given, shall enter the world of those who had killed the great group of men of the Ghaṭikā."[31] This not only shows the honour paid to the sacred institution, the Ghaṭikā, any act of injury done to which was considered a sin, but also establishes the close affinity of the temple to the Ghaṭikā which, like the maṭhas of later days, was perhaps attached to the temple and also shared the temple property. Perhaps, Rājasimha constructed the Mahāmaṇḍapa in front of Rājasimhēśvaragṛham in order that the Ghaṭikā which he reorganised may meet there for study and it is on one of the pillars of this Mahāmaṇḍapa that we find inscribed the Kanarese inscription of Vikramāditya II just mentioned.

Some support for my view that the temple was perhaps the meeting place of the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī may be found in a Kanarese inscription of a later date. This is in the Sira Taluk and Lewis Rice has assigned it to 1167 A.D. Here the Nonambēśvara temple is called the great Ghaṭikāsthāna of Heñjara Paṭṭaṇa—"Heñjara—Paṭṭaṇada Mahā-Ghaṭikā-sthāna-śrī Nonambēśvara-dēvara sthānadalliye" etc.[32]

The nature of the study in the Ghaṭikā.

According to the Tāḷaguṇḍa Pillar inscription, Mayūraśarman, accompanied by his master Vīraśarman, went to the city of the Pallava lords and with an eagerness to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the Ghaṭikā begging for knowledge. The purpose of Mayūraśarman is stated in the words: "adhijigāmsuḥ pravacanam nikhilam", "desirous of learning the entire 'Pravacanam'". This makes it clear that the members of the Ghaṭikā devoted themselves to the critical study (Pravacanam) of the sacred lore.[33] This is confirmed by the Kaśākuḍi plates where it is recorded that in the Ghaṭikā the study of the four Vēdas was specially emphasised.[34]

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[31] Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 360.

[32] Ep. Car., Vol. XII, p. 158.

[33] A fragmentary inscription in Nāgari characters from Cennarāyapaṭnam Taluk (1442 A.D.) reads thus: 'Dundubhau hāyanē Bhādrapadē māsē śubhē dinē Uttankōktyā Sāmavēda vyadhattam ghaṭikāśramam.' Mr. Rice translates this passage thus: "(On the date specified), in accordance with Uttanka's saying in the Samavēda, the Ghaṭikā was established," (rest effaced) Ep. Car., Vol. V, No. 178, p. 462. However, I think the lines should be understood as recording the establishment of a Ghaṭikā for the study of Sāmavēda. If this was so, it is interesting to notice that as late as the 15th century A.D. we have Ghaṭikās devoted to the study of the special branches of the Vēdas.

One can easily form an idea of the standard of learning that prevailed in the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī from the information provided by the Tāḷaguṇḍa Pillar inscription. Firstly, it represents Mayūraśarman, the seeker of knowledge, as no ordinary student. It describes him thus : "In the family thus arisen there was an illustrious chief of the twice-born named Mayūraśarman, adorned with sacred learning, good disposition, purity and the rest".[35] Later on it says that Mayūraśarman had already served his preceptor and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēdas and that he came to the Pallava capital only to complete his studies. Secondly, Mayūraśarman entered the Ghaṭikā not alone but with his teacher Vīraśarman. These points clearly go to prove that the standard of learning was so high that advanced students like Mayūraśarman and his teacher who had completed their studies had to get themselves trained in the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī in order that their education might be considered complete.

The Ghaṭikā under royal patronage

The Pallava monarchs being great patrons of Sanskrit lore, their intimate connection with the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī and their interest in its progress are well attested by their inscriptions.

Among the kings, Skandaśiṣya, Mahēndravarma II, Rājāsimha, and Nandivarman Pallava Malla were closely associated with the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī. Skandaśiṣya is said to have seized the Ghaṭikā of the Dvijas from a king called Satyasēna. In the Kaśākuḍi plates we read of Mahēndravarman thus : "from whose time have prospered meritorious acts for the benefit of temples and Brahmans and the Ghaṭikā," "Yasmāt prabhṛtyalamavardhata dharma karma dēvadvijanma viṣayam Ghaṭikāca datuḥ".[36] Of Rājāsimha, the great Śaiva devotee, the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant says that he reorganised the Ghaṭikā of the Dvijas, and the Kaśākuḍi plates speak of his patronage of the Ghaṭikā in the following words:—"This crest jewel of the Kṣatriyas whose wealth was at the disposal of temples and Brahmans improved with devotion to Brahmans, the prosperity of his own Ghaṭikā where the four Vēdas were taught." We hear from the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription that the members of the Ghaṭikā were partly responsible for bringing about the election to the Pallava throne of the young prince Nandivarman Pallava Malla.[37] All these facts show that the material prosperity of the Ghāṭikā depended largely on the kings who as patrons established intimate relationship with the learned Brahmans of the institution. It is only this truth that Mayūraśarman expressed when he remarked that the complete attainment of holiness depended on a king:—" Brahma siddhiryyadi nṛpādhīnā."

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[34] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part III, p. 349, line 59:

"Dēvabrāhmaṇa satkṛtātmavibhāvō yaḥ kṣatracūḍāmaṇiḥ
Cāturvēdyamavīvṛdhat svaghaṭikām bhudēvatābhaktitaḥ."

The second line of this verse is admittedly very difficult, mainly because of scribal errors in the engraving. The actual reading from the plate is as usual correctly given by Hultzsch. I think, however, that his correction of '*avīvṛdhan*' into '*avīvisat*' and the emendation more doubtfully suggested by him, of 'Svasatikām' into 'Svavaśagām' are both very questionable. I would read the whole line as given above.

[35] "Ēvam āgatē kadamba kulē śrīmān babhūva dvij-ōttamaḥ
nāmatō Mayūraśarmm-ēti śruta-śīla-śauc-ādy-alamkṛtaḥ."

[36] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part III, pp. 349 and 356. The translation of Hultzsch of 'Ghaṭikā' into 'the vessel' gives no sense to the passage.

The consequences of royal patronage

The influence of the royal house over this educational institution had its own good and bad results. While it encouraged the study of sacred lore and raised the standard of Vēdic culture on which the well-being of the state depended, it prevented the Ghaṭikā from enjoying a continuous and undisturbed existence and prosperity. The Tāḷaguṇḍa (Kadamba) inscription bears out the truth of this statement. The circumstances leading to the quarrel between Mayūraśarman and the Pallavas clearly indicate that the scholar greatly resented the royal influence over this celebrated institution to which he sought admission.

The text of the inscription runs thus:—

> " Tatra Pallavāśvasamsthēna kalahēna tīvrēṇa roṣitaḥ.
> Kaliyugē smin aho bata kṣatrāt paripēlavā
> vipratā yataḥ guru-kulāni samyag āraddhya
> śākhām adhīty āpi yatnataḥ brahma siddhir yadi nṛpādhīnā
> kim ataḥ paraṁ duḥkham ity ataḥ kuśa-samid-driṣat-srug-
> ājya-caru-
> grahaṇ-ādi-dakṣēṇa pāṇinā udvavarha dīptimac-
> chastram vijigīṣamāṇō vasundharām yō-ntapālān
> PALLAVĒNDRĀṆĀM sahasā vinirjjitya samyugē addhyu-
> vāsa durggamām aṭavīm ŚRĪPARVVATA-dvāra-samśritām."

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[37] The deputation which waited on Hiraṇyavarman consisted of Mahattras, Ghaṭikaiyār and the Mūlaprakṛti.—S.I.I., Vol. IV.

We have more than one translation of the above passage. Mr. Lewis Rice translates:[38] "There being enraged by a sharp quarrel connected with the Pallava horse (or stables) he said—'In this Kali-Yuga, Oh! shame; through the Kṣatras Brahmanhood is (reduced to mere) grass, if, even though with perfect devotion to the race of Gurus he strive to study the śākhā (or branch of the Vēda to which he belongs), the fruition of the Vēdas (Brahma siddhi) be dependent on kings, what can be more painful than this ? Therefore, with the hand accustomed to handle kuśa grass, (sacrificial) fuel, stone, ladle, ghi and oblations of grain, he seized flashing weapons resolved to conquer the world. Quickly overcoming in fight the frontier guards of the Pallava kings, he took up his abode in an inaccessible forest situated in the middle of Śrī Parvata."

Dr. Kielhorn gives a slightly different translation which is as follows : "There enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman (he reflected): 'Alas, that in this Kali-age the Brahmans should be so much feebler than the Kṣatriyas! For, if to one, who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēda, the perfection in holiness depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this? And so,—with the hand dexterous in grasping the Kuśa grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation-vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth. Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier-guards of the Pallava lords he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrī Parvata."[39]

The exact nature of the quarrel and the part of the Pallava horse or 'horseman' in it are obscure; but we are able to gather two points from the above passage. First, that Mayūraśarman was personally involved in some quarrel which completely prevented him from carrying on his studies in the Ghaṭikā and thus interfered with his attainment of "Brahma siddhi." Secondly, the Pallava ruler was in some manner personally responsible for this occurrence, for all the wrath of Mayūraśarman is directed against him, and Mayūraśarman definitely attributes the cause of his failure to the Pallava monarch who evidently had entire control over the Ghaṭikā.[40]

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[38] Ep. Carnatica, Vol. VII, pp. 113-114 (Sk. Taluk).

[39] Dr. Kielhorn identifies Śrī Parvata with the modern Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District.

[40] Mr. Venkateswara thinks that Mayūraśarman left the Ghaṭikā and took up the profession of a Kṣatriya because the sacred institution was in difficulties due to a war between the Pallavas and the Kṣatrapas. The author questions the translation of Dr. Kielhorn in a foot-note which I

The final result of all this was that the scholar who came to complete his studies peacefully in the Pallava capital was turned into a deadly enemy of the king.

The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant alludes to the fact that Skandaśiṣya, the grandson of Vīrakūrca, seized the Ghaṭikā from Satyasēna—"Skandaśiṣyastato bhavad-dvijānām ghaṭikām rājñaḥ Satyasēnāj-jahāra yaḥ."[41]

The verb 'jahāra' implies that the Pallava king seized it from an enemy. Several suggestions have been put forth regarding the identity of the enemy,[42] but we are not concerned with the question

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quote here:—"Pallavāśvasamsthēna kalahēna' which Kielhorn wrongly translates as 'quarrel with Pallava horseman' neglecting the significance of 'Samsthēna.' 'Aśva' really represents the horse power of Kṣātrapas: cf. Kalidasa: (*Raghuvamśa*: '*Pāśchātyaiḥ* aśvasādhanaiḥ')."—*Indian Culture through the Ages,* Vol. I, p. 243. It is difficult to see the point of Mr. Venkatēswara's criticism of Kielhorn or of the expression cited from the Raghuvamśa. He does not say how he would translate the words 'Pallavāśva-samsthēna kalahēna tivrēṇa roṣitaḥ.'

[41] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part V, p. 508, lines 12-13.

[42] (a) Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar comments:—"This Satyasēna seems to be the same as Svāmisatyasimha, a Mahākṣatrapa, who is known to us from the coins of his son Mahākṣatrapa Śvāmi Rudrasimha III."—*Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture,* p. 165.

(b) We have already noticed Mr. Venkatēśwara's interpretation of Pallava-aśva and he confirms his statement thus:—"We have confirmation on this subject from the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, which mention that the Pallava king, Skandaśiṣya, seized from the Sātrap Satyasēna the Ghaṭikā of the Brahmans."—*Indian Culture through the Ages,* Vol. I, p. 243.

I have hesitation in accepting that king Satyasēna is a Sātrap, because we have no proof that the power of the Kṣatrapas extended so far south as to come into contact with the Pallavas in Kāñcī. The only powerful foreign enemy whose incursion into the Pallava dominion could have caused such disturbance in internal affairs, was Samudragupta. His invasion of the southern regions and the defeat of Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñcī must have preceded the recovery of the Ghaṭikā by king Skandaśiṣya. Whether the control of the enemy over the institution was the outcome of Samudragupta's invasion into the south and whether Satyasēna was an ally of Samudragupta are questions we cannot readily answer.

The name Satyasēna may lead us to doubt whether he was a Vākāṭaka king, but there are other points which weigh heavily against this inference. We have not come across any reference to warfare between the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas; and secondly, among the Vākāṭaka kings known to us, we have not found a Satyasēna.

(c) Father Heras is of opinion that Satyasēna was perhaps a petty king of the neighbourhood in the Āndhradēśa.—*Studies in Pallava History,* p. 9. This is no more than a plausible guess.

as to who the enemy was but with the fact that he was in possession of the sacred institution, the Ghaṭikā. It is evident that under the enemy the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī ceased to work and became disorganised. After Skandaśiṣya's recovery, it flourished again until the time of Rājasimha and then there was another disturbance. It is the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates that once again supply the information that Rājasimha, *alias,* Narasimhavarman II once more (punarvyadhāt) re-established the Ghaṭikā of the twice-born. I have discussed elsewhere in detail, the circumstances leading to the disorganisation and the re-organisation of the Ghaṭikā at this time.[43] The Ghaṭikā, after being reinstated, amply repaid the care bestowed on it by the king; for it took a hand in saving the Pallava kingdom from total ruin before the accession of Pallava Malla. Its members were the leaders of the deputation which waited on Hiraṇyavarman and it was Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pōśan, one of the learned men of the Ghaṭikā, that persuaded the reluctant father to send his son to assume the rulership over the Pallava kingdom. We also see the Ghaṭikaiyār taking part in the coronation scene of Nandivarman, which gives us an insight into the political importance of this learned corporation.

Ghaṭikācala—The hill of the ghaṭikā

When referring to an inscription from Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District, we said that it does not allude to the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī but to a different one. It is not at all improbable that in the time of Pallava Malla there existed in the North Arcot District a ghaṭikā besides the time-honoured one in Kāñcī. Let us consider the reasons for our surmise.

The Tiruvallam inscription dated in the 61st year of Nandivarman Pallava Malla contains no indication that it speaks of the Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī. It is likely that it refers to a ghaṭikā in its vicinity. Again, three inscriptions[44] of Pārthivēndrādhipati referred to already speak of an arbitrator possessing the title 'Trairājya ghaṭikā madhyasthan.' This again supports our assumption because all these three Tamil records come from Brahmadēśam in the Ceyyār Taluk of the North Arcot District. If, as we suppose, there was a ghaṭikā in the North Arcot District, where can we locate it?

Now, we know that the Shōlingar hill in the North Arcot District is known even to this day as 'Ghaṭikācala' and from contemporary literary sources we are able to establish that this name of the hill with its temple dedicated to god Narasimha is as old as the time of the later Pallava kings. Tirumaṅgai mentions this hill among the shrines noted in his *Śiṟiya Tirumaḍal* :—" Kārārkuḍandai kaḍigai kaḍanmallai, Ērār poḻilśūḻ iḍavendai nīrmalai." Ever since, to this day, Shōlingar has continued to be a great centre of learning and a stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism. One of the early inscriptions of the place belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I.[45]

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[43] See the chapter on ' "Famines" in the Pallava country.'

[44] 194, 195 and 197 of 1915.

Though no Pallava inscription is found on the hill,[46] still early Pallava influences are traceable in the neighbourhood of Ghaṭikācala. Mahēndravāḍi where the great Mahēndravarman excavated his cave, dedicated to Viṣṇu, is very close to the Shōlingar hill. The place is four miles from the Shōlingar Railway Station and 12 miles from the Hill of Narasimha—Ghaṭikācala. The earliest of the shrines in the North Arcot District, dedicated to Viṣṇu, seems to be the one excavated by Mahēndravarman I and named after him as Mahēndraviṣṇugṛham. This abode of Mūrāri must have attracted a sufficient number of devotees of Viṣṇu and it is not unlikely that by the time of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, a colony of Viṣṇu bhaktas established themselves near Mahēndravāḍi.

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[45] (a) Shōlingar in the North Arcot District is situated at a distance of about seven miles from the town near the village of Bāṇavaram. The present Tamil name of the town is 'Śōḷaśingapuram,' clearly connected with the Cōḷa dynasty. The temple dedicated to Narasimha is noticed in the *Nālāyiraprabandham* ; the *Guruparamparāprabhāva* and the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* (verses 289-297). The names by which these works designate the hill are : Kaḍigai in Tamil and Ghatikāchala in Sanskrit. Wilson's Mackenzie collection, p. 134, mentions the Ghaṭikācala Māhātmya, a legendary account of this hill in the Sanskrit language. Vādhūla Venkaṭāchārya invokes Narasimha, the husband of Amṛtavalli who resides on Ghaṭikādri, at the beginning of his commentary on the Tarkasangraha, and Doḍḍayācārya invokes Ghaṭikādharādharēndra at the beginning of his Caṇḍamāruta. See Nos. 975 and 1532, Hultzsch's *Second Report* on Sanskrit manuscripts. Also see Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 221.

(b) The famous South Indian composer, Dikṣitar, has sung a kṛti on Narasimha :

"Narasimha āgaccha............
Dhīratara Ghaṭikācalēśvara ...."

(c) A recent work '*Śrī Ghaṭikācala Sthalapurāṇam*' has been published by Mr. P. Hanumantha Rao (Hindi Prachar Press, Mambalam, Madras) in Tamil.

[46] *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, V. Rangacāryā, Vol. I, pp. 108-109.

Considering the above and the literary importance of the Shōlingar hill[47] and the name itself, we may safely conclude that there was convened in the days of Pallava Malla a ghaṭikā of learned Vaiṣṇava Brahmans who carried on their studies inside the temple situated on the top of the hill.[48]

Bhaṭṭavṛtti

Besides the patronage rendered to the Ghaṭikā, the Pallava monarchs recognised and encouraged individual learning. Kauṭilya propounds: "those learned in the Vēdas shall be granted brahmadāya lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines."[49] Such a grant of land to learned Brahmans was known as 'bhaṭṭavṛtti' in early Cōḷa inscriptions which show clearly that the endowment was not merely a reward of learning but an honorarium for free imparting of knowledge.[50]

The Ōmgōḍu grant[51] of the Pallava king Vijayaskandavarman II affords a good example of a bhaṭṭavṛtti. The technical phrase 'bhaṭṭavṛtti' is not used in this grant; however, it is a gift to a brahman in recognition of his learning. The village of Ōmgōḍu was given as a Sāttvika gift,[52] with the eighteen kinds of exemption to the learned Gōlaśarman of the Kāśyapagōtra, a student of two Vēdas and the six Aṅgas.

Another example of a bhaṭṭavṛtti is contained in a later grant, the Kaśākuḍi plates of Pallava Malla where the extraordinary accomplishments of the donee are narrated thus:—The grant was made to Jyeṣṭhapāda—Sōmayājin, "who has mastered the ocean-like Vēdas; who chants the *Sāman* (hymns) which are pleasant on account of their melodies (*rasa*); who has completed the rehearsal and the study of the six auxiliary works, (viz.,) the ritual of the Vēda, grammar, astronomy, etymology, phonetics and metrics; who knows the properties of words, sentences and subjects; who has drunk the elixir of the *Śruti* and *Smṛti*; who is learned in the portion referring to rites (karmakāṇḍa) and the portion referring to knowledge (jñānakāṇḍa); who is skilled in the ways of the world and in the knowledge of the arts; who is versed in poems, dramas, stories, epics and legends; in short, who is skilled in all (branches of) holy and profane knowledge; who is expert in the performance of all rites; who is of good conduct; (who illumines) the world as a lamp (does) a house; who is courteous (in spite of) the honour (paid to him) and of noble birth; who is the only sun of the middle world (i.e., the earth), because he has dispelled all ignorance (or darkness); who is considered the best of fathers and grand-fathers; whose good deeds (in former births are the reason of his present) noble birth; who ranks first among the twice-born; who knows the Vēdas; who conforms to the precepts of the Vēda; who follows the *Chhandogasūtra*; who has performed the *Vājapēya* and a number of other sacrifices; who belongs to the Bhāradvājagōtra; who resides at Punīya, an excellent settlement of Brahmanas in the Tuṇḍāka-rāṣṭra; who is poor in sins; who is distinguished by (his) dress (?); who is a unique person; who cares for both worlds; who accomplishes the three objects of human life (*trivarga*); who knows the four Vēdas; whose chief objects are the five primary elements (*pañca-mahābhūta*); who knows the six auxiliary works; who resembles the sun; who possesses good qualities; (and) who is an excellent Brāhmaṇa. . ." The gift consisted of a whole village, the original name of which was Koḍukoḷḷi (but) which, on becoming a *brahmadāya* (received) the new name Ēkadhīramangalam.[53]

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[47] *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency,* V. Rangācāryā, p. 108, Note.

[48] I visited Shōlingar on 5-8-35. It is one of the attractive hills of the place, but steep and difficult to climb.

[49] *Arthaśāstra* (R. Sama Sastri, English Translation, p. 52).

[50] S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 200, p. 377 and 223 of 1911.

[51] Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 251.

[52] Monier Williams gives for Sāttvīka the meaning 'an offering or oblation (without pouring water)'—This may be the kind of gift that was meant here; for the inscription omits the usual reference to the pouring of gold and water—a necessary accompaniment for a dāna—Hultzsch, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 250, Note 4.

Agrahāras

Bhaṭṭavṛttis usually took the form of endowments to a single or a few brahmans, but when a whole village was settled by a number of learned brahmans, it was commonly known as an 'agrahāra.' Both North Indian and South Indian Epigraphy contain references to the creation of agrahāras by kings and chiefs.[54] These learned brahmans who enjoyed the revenues of the endowed village were expected to spread their culture by teaching students and others. For example, the agrahāra of Sthānakundūr (Taḷagunda) was settled with thirty-two brahman families who taught the people.[55]

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[53] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part III, pp. 358-359. Named after 'Ēkadhīra' which was a surname of Pallava Malla.

[54] Ep. Ind., III, pp. 130-134; IV, p. 170.

[55] Ep. Carnatica, VII, 176 (Sk.).

In the 8th century under the Pallava king Nandivarman II, two brahman agrahāras were created in South India, one of which was situated near Kumbakonam and the other in the Negapaṭam Taluk of the Tanjore District.

The Agrahāra of Dayāmukhamangalam

The Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates[56] dated in the fifty-eighth year (of the reign) of the king record the gift of a whole village situated to the west of Taṇḍantōṭṭam to a number of learned brahmans. Verse 9 of the plates contains the following account: 'The pious man whose name was Dayāmukha, having informed this (king) according to rule got that village which received the surname Dayāmukhamangalam, granted to three hundred and eight brahmans who had studied the three Vēdas and the Smṛtis.'

Organization and composition of the Agrahāra

The village was made self-contained, all the facilities being provided. The residents of the village were all learned brahmans. It contained two temples, one dedicated to Śiva and the other to Viṣṇu. There was a special place 'ambalam' for reading the *Mahābhārata.* There were three arbitrators set over to watch the affairs of the village while the actual administrative duties were entrusted with the perumakkaḷ—the village assembly. Irrigation facilities for the village were also granted.

The majority of the donees received each one share in the village. There were a few who received two shares and a few more; three. The recipient of the largest number of shares, namely 12, was one Attōṇa Ṣaḍangavit Sōmayājin (No. 109) whose gōtra and sūtra are lost. The poet who composed the praśasti received two shares. The Viṣṇu temple in the village received five shares while the Śiva temple was assigned two shares. A share was allotted to the reciter of the *Bhārata* and three arbitrators (*madhyasthar*) obtained one share each. Like other Brahmadāyas it secured from the king the usual immunities from taxation.

The qualifications of the Brahmans

According to the Sanskrit portion of the grant the donees were three hundred and eight, but the actual number we are able to obtain from the Tamil portion is only two hundred and forty-four. Mr. Krishna Śāstri thinks that a few plates of the grant portion are lost, a presumption based on the fact that the concluding words of some of the plates in the middle do not fit in with the opening words of the succeeding plates. The qualifications of the donees are easily judged by their titles—caturvēdin, trivēdin, sōmayājin, vasantayājin, ṣaḍangavid, bhaṭṭa kramavid, sarvakratuyājin, agnicit and vājapēyin.

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[56] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part V.

The gōtra, sūtra and the name of the residence of each of the donees are carefully recorded. Of the two hundred and forty-four names that are specified in the grant, we get nearly one hundred and four caturvēdins, over twenty ṣaḍangavids, twenty trivēdins, a few bhaṭṭas, kramavids, etc. These educated Brahmans residing in the heart of the Pallava kingdom must have been a great moral and intellectual force behind the king and the people at large.

The Telugu origin of these Brahmans

Judging by the names of the native villages of the donees, Mr. Krishna Śāstri considers that several of them must have come down from the different parts of the Telugu country. He further adds: "The donees whose native villages[57] may be presumed to have been situated in the Telugu country need not necessarily have immigrated into the Cōḷa country at the time of the grant. They might have been settled there some time before." He seems to think that the Telugu birudas of the Pallava king Mahēndra testify to the influence of the Telugu people in the Cōḷa country already in the 7th century A.D.

The Agrahāra of Paṭṭattāḷmangalam

Yet another Agrahāra which was created in the same reign was Paṭṭattāḷmangalam. The donor was a subordinate of Pallava Malla and the ruler of Mangalarāṣṭra. After having petitioned the king repeatedly the grant was made with all parihāras.

The donees are here introduced as in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates by the collective phrase 'nalgūr naṟpāppār'—"The poor, good Brahmans'[58] which means that though they were materially poor, they were good because of their learning. From the accompanying list, we may learn that nearly all of them were masters of Vēdas and Aṅgas.

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[57] It is worthy of note that a large number of the village names in the grant are now held as titles by some well-known Śrī Vaiṣṇava families—Krishna Śāstri, S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 519.

[58] Ep. Indica, vol. XVIII, p. 122. See also K. V. S. Aiyar's discussion on this in page 219.

TABLE OF DONEES.

Serial No.	No. of line in Text.	Gotra.	Sūtra.	Village.	Name of Person.
1.	43	Gautama	Hiraṇyakēśi.	Neṟkunṟam.	Kramavittanār kūḻabhaṭṭan.
2.	44	Jātūkarṇṇa.	do.	Mayilāppil	Nandiśarmabhaṭṭan
3.	45	Gautama	Āvattamba (Āpastamba)	Kummangi	Veṇṇaya-ṣaḍaṅgavi (ṣaḍaṅgavit)
4.	46	Irādhīdara (Rathītara)	do.	Kuravaśiri	Agniśarma-tiruvēdi (Trivēdin)
5.	47	Vādūla (Vādhūla)	do.		Tiruvēdi-pottaśarman
6.	48	Māḍala (Māṭhara)	Hiraṇyakēśi	Ēṇūr	Accaviṇṇa-ṣaḍaṅgavi
7.	49	Attiraiya (Ātrēya)	Āvattamba	Kombaṟu	Kumāraśarma-ṣaḍangavi
8.	50	do.	do.	Uṟupputtūr	Kāḷimaṇḍai-ṣaḍaṅgavi
9.	51	Kappa (Kāpaya)	do.	Śiṟupuḷugil	Sēndaśarma-ṣaḍaṅgavi
10.	52	Gōtama (Gautama)	do.	Vaṅgippaṟu	Ṣaḍaṅgavi-Tāyaśarman
11.	53	do.	do.	do.	Kumāra-krama-Tiruvēdi.
12.	54	Koṇḍina (Kauṇḍinya)	do.	do.	Tēvaḍi-Kramavittan
13.	55	Gōtama (Gautama)	do.	do.	Pappaśarma-ṣaḍaṅgavi
14.	56	Vādūla (Vadhūla)	do.	Kārambichchēṭṭu.	Śēndaśarman.
15.	57	Āttiraiya	do.	Kombaṟu	Śēndaśarman.
16.	58	do.	do.	do.	Dēvaṟcidan-Aññuṟṟuvan.

The Temple.

As an educative agency and a centre of all-round culture, the importance of the temple in South India can hardly be exaggerated. The architect, the sculptor and the painter, the dancer, the musician, the philosopher and the religious man, the paurāṇika and the poet, each found his vocation in the temple. As an instructive cultural institution, it treasured within its precincts the best that was in the country. The Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī affords a good example for our period. Even to this day, in spite of the weather-worn appearance and its age, entering its enclosure, the philosopher will be struck by the serene attitude of the universal teacher—Dakṣiṇāmūrti, instructing his pupils in Yōga and Jñāna. The Hindu will forget himself amidst the innumerable manifestations of Śiva, most marvellously executed. (Pl. III. fig. 5.) The abundant sculptures of nṛttamūrtis depicted in the most beautiful poses and surrounded by groups of gaṇas playing on various musical instruments will inspire the musician and the dancer. Considering the importance given to music and dancing in this period, one may correctly imagine that the Pallavas of Kāñcī witnessed in this temple some of the best performances in music and dance during its annual festivals. There are only a few patches of old paintings left to-day on the walls of the Kailāsanātha temple, but there is no doubt that in the days of Rājasimha every sculpture there was painted with choice colours and every inch of the wall inside the surrounding cells contained rich fresco-paintings depicting scenes from human and divine life.

Another characteristic feature of the temple is that it was a veritable store house of public documents recording the lavish endowments made by public bodies and private individuals. The temple is the right place for the study of ancient calligraphy and the Pallava temples as a class contain much beautiful lettering which does credit to the artistic taste of the people, and the skill of the chiseler.

The free imparting of Vēdic and classic lore was also carried on within the temple. Regular arrangements were made for this purpose. The Pallava copper plates tell us that necessary facilities were rendered for the reading of the *Mahābhārata.* The Kūram grant relates that a cultured Brahman was appointed to recite the *Mahābhārata* inside the maṇḍapa of the temple of Vidyāvinīta Pallavēśvara,[59] at the village of Paramēśvaramangalam. The same kind of arrangement is also noted in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates. It is further added in both the records that a special share was allotted to the man who watered the ambalam (hall) or maṇḍapa and kindled fire therein:—'Ambalan taṇṇīraṭṭuvāṟkum tīyerippānukkumāgap paṅgu onṟum';[60] 'Kūrattu maṇḍakattuku taṇṇīr (k) kum tīkkum orupaṇgāgavum'.[61]

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[59] S.I.I., vol. I, p. 151—line 75.

One can understand the watering of the ambalam or maṇḍapam in order to make it clean and cool for people to come and hear the *Bhārata,* but it is not clear why there should be fire kindled. Perhaps, a sort of hōma ceremony had to be performed by the Brahman before he began reading the *Bhārata,* or possibly *tī* may stand for a lamp. In the early Cōḷa period we hear of the use of the maṇḍapams or halls of temples for purposes of imparting the knowledge of grammar and mīmāmsā. At Tiruvoṟṟiyūr there existed a vyākaraṇamaṇḍapa[62] and in the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple at Kumbakonam, in a maṇḍapa, Prābhākara mīmāmsā was taught.[63] But the beginning of this practice was already made in the Pallava period by the reading of the *Bhārata.*

The practice of singing in temples the Śaiva hymns 'The Tiruppadigam' (The Tēvārams) was recognised as early as the days of the later Pallavas.[64]

The Sanskrit College at Bāhūr.

The Vidyāsthāna (seat of learning) at Bāhūr (near Pondicherry) in Aruvānāḍu must have been in existence at least as early as the 8th century A.D., for when the gift of the three villages was made to it in the 8th regnal year of Nṛpatungavarman, it stands before us as a well-established institution of Sanskrit lore.

Composition of the College.

There is no doubt that it was a residential college and since the Tamil portion of the grant clearly says that the gift to the college was a brahmadāya, we may conclude that it consisted of only brahman scholars. The standard of learning and the accomplishments of a student of the college are easily judged by reading the praśasti which is written in elegant Sanskrit verses. This was composed by a servant of the Vidyāsthāna, whose name was Nāgāya and who knew the truth of sciences (śāstra tattvajñaḥ)[65]

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[60] S.I.I., vol. II, part V—p. 527, line 199.

[61] S.I.I., vol. I, p. 151—line 74.

[62] Madras Ep. Rep. for 1913.

[63] Do. for 1912.

[64] In the Śiva temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District, provision was made for the regular singing of the Tēvārams, the singers being maintained by the temple endowments. S.I.I., vol. III, part I—p. 93.

The College Curriculum.

The verse in the Bāhūr plates runs as followes:

"Mandākinīm samāyāntīmūrmmivamśasamākulām
Sambabhāra yathā dēvo dhūrjaṭirjaṭayaikayā.
Vidyānadī tathāgādhā caturddaśagaṇākulā
Bāhūrgrāmajuṣām sthānaṃ vyāpya yasmādvyavasthitā."

Mr. Krishna Śāstri[66] understood the passage to mean that the vidyāsthāna at Bāhūr consisted of fourteen gaṇas and was controlled by the learned men of that village, being organised and maintained by them "as the Ganges (Mandākinī) descending from the sky with all the fury of its rushing waves is borne by the God Śiva on one of his matted locks." 'Caturddaśa vidyā' is as we know, a general term found in literature and epigraphy and is a collective name for fourteen branches of learning. We have a reference to it in an inscription of Parivrājaka Mahārāja Samkṣōbha (528 A.D.). The words of the inscription are: 'Caturddaśa-vidyāsthāna vidita-paramārthasya" etc.[67] The illustrious

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65. Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 11, verse 30.

66. S.I.I., vol. II, part V, p. 516. Hultzsch, however, translated these lines differently. His reading and translation are as follows:

"Mandākinīm samāyāntīm ūrmmi vēga-samākulām
sa (ba) bhāra yathā dēvō Dhū(r)jaṭir jaṭayaikayā
Vidyā-nadī tathāg(ā)thā(dhā) caturddiśa-gaṇ-ākulā
Vāgū(r) grāma-juṣ(ām) sthānam vyāpya yasmād-vyavasthītā."

"Just as the Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) carried on the single lock of (his) hair the approaching Mandākinī (Gaṅgā), agitated by the velocity of waves, thus the deep river of learning, filled with troops (of scholars) from the four directions, stayed after it had filled the seat of the residents of the village of Vāgūr. Therefore, they call this seat of scholars a seat of learning." I have accepted Mr. Krishna Śāstri's rendering of the verse because of the following reasons: Firstly, so far as I can make out from the published plates, the text has 'caturddaśa' and not 'caturddiśa' and secondly, in spite of the fascinating analogy of the caturdiśa-bhikkusangha cited by Hultzsch, it is difficult to find another instance of the use of 'gaṇa' in the sense of 'a group of students'. It is true that the common term for the fourteen divisions of learning is 'caturdaśa vidyāsthānāni', not 'gaṇāni'; but it is obvious that the term 'gaṇa' has been brought in here for the sake of the śleṣā. Ep. Indica, vol. 18, p. 11, lines 37-40.

67. Fleet: "*Gupta Inscriptions*"—pp. 113-115.

Samkṣōbha is described as one who was born in the family of the kingly ascetic Suśarman, who had learned the whole truth of the fourteen sections of science. Dr. Fleet defines 'Caturddaśa vidyāsthāna' as 'the four Vēdas, the six Vēdāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the Mīmāmśā system of Philosophy, the Nyāya system and Dharma śāstra. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* once makes a reference to fourteen vidyās, but does not define them—"Caturddaśānām vidyānām ekasyaivāpi pāragaḥ,[68] though it does so elsewhere."

The *Naiṣadhīya* also contains a reference to 'Caturddaśa vidyā.' This the commentator defines as follows:—angāni vedāścatvarō Mīmāmśā Nyāyavistaraḥ Dharmaśāstram purāṇamca vidyāhyētaścaturddaśa".[69]

It is interesting that we hear not only of 'caturddaśavidyā' but also of 'aṣṭādaśa vidyā'[70] i.e., the eighteen branches of learning. The *Vāyupurāṇa*[71] contains one of the early references to the eighteen kinds of study, and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* defines them as: 'Four Vēdas, six Aṅgas, Mīmāmśā, Nyāya, Dharma śāstra, Purāṇa, Āyurvēda, Dhanurvēda, Gāndharva and Artha-śāstra'.[72]

The Endowment.

The endowment to the college consisted of the three villages, viz., Cheṭṭuppākkam, Vīḷāngāṭṭankaḍuvānūr and Iṛaippunaiccēri, whose revenues were to be enjoyed by the residents of the seat of learning at Vāgūr. The donor was a district officer of the Pallava kingdom by name Mārtāṇḍan *alias* Nilaitāṇgi of the family of Vēśāli,[73] which traced its descent from the Kurus. The chief requested king Nṛpatunga to permit him to transfer the ownership of the three villages situated in his own district (rāṣṭra) to the vidyāsthāna and the king appointed his minister Uttamaśīla, as ājñapti and ordered him to carry out the transfer.

Maṭhas.

Maṭhas came in rather at a late stage in Pallava history. We do not hear of them in inscriptions until the beginning of the 8th century. 'Maṭhaśchātrādi nilayaḥ'—'a maṭha is an abode for scholars and others'—so says the *Amarakōśa,* and a study of the numerous inscriptions relating to the origin, organisation and the purpose of maṭhas in South India reveals the fact that they, besides being a sort of feeding houses for the poor and the infirm and rest-houses for pilgrims, served also as important educational centres.

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[68] Part III, ch. V, v. 29.
[69] Ch. I, v. 4.
[70] Vāyupurāṇa, ch. 79, v. 57.
[71] Ibid.
[72] The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, part II, ch. 35, vv. 88 and 89.
[73] Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 10, v. 18.

Maṭhas in Pallava Epigraphy.

The earliest Pallava inscription which mentions a maṭha attached to a temple is the Tirumēṟṟaḷi inscription of Dantivarman I.[74] At the request of a Muttaṛaiyan, a private individual made a grant of certain units of land to the Śiva temple—Tirumēṟṟaḷi at Kāñcī and to the maṭha attached therto. It is not unlikely that the Tirumēṟṟaḷi maṭha existed as early as the time of Mahēndravarman I, for it seems it was the presence of the maṭha that inspired Appar (Tirunāvukkaraśu) to glorify Kāñcī as a seat of learning in this particular padigam.[75]

The cultural importance of maṭhas in the Pallava days becomes more explicit from an inscription of Nṛpatungavarman dated in his 25th year. The record is a fragment and the slab is built into the ceiling of the maṇḍapa in front of the Varadarāja temple at Kāvērippākkam in the Chingleput District. The purpose of the inscription is to record the gift of gold for the provision of oil for lamps and the endowment was placed in charge of 'maḍattu śaṭṭa perumakkaḷ',[76] which means the group of scholars of the maṭha. We do not find instances of Vaiṣṇava maṭhas attached to Viṣṇu temples in this period, and we cannot definitely assign reasons for their non-existence; however, this inscription in Kāvērippākkam is found in a Viṣṇu temple, but we are not able to make out, owing to the fragmentary nature of the record whether the 'maḍattu śaṭṭa perumakkaḷ' were attached to this Viṣṇu temple or to some Śiva temple of the place. We have ample evidence to prove that Vaiṣṇavism had become sufficiently strong and widespread by the time of Nṛpatungavarman, besides the fact that the later Pallavas were patrons of the Āḻvārs. Therefore, it is not unlikely that there was a maṭha of Vaiṣṇava scholars in Kāvērippākkam. As in Cōḷa records of the 10th century, here also we find the maṭha having some control over the temple endowments.

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[74] 89 of 1921.

[75] 'Kalviyaikkaraiyilāda Kāñcīmānagar'—Tirumēṟṟaḷi Padigam.

[76] Śaṭṭan, noun—chātra = scholar, student māṇākkan. Ref. Tamil Lexicon, Madras University.

Maṭhas in Literature.

In spite of its later date, we cannot afford to ignore the evidence of the *Periyapurāṇam* on this subject. Numerous references to the establishment of maṭhas by Śaiva devotees are found in the work on the lives of the saints Nāvukkaraśu and Sambandar. Muruga Nāyanār, Kungiliyakkalaiya Nāyanār and Appūdi Aḍigaḷ were contemporaries of Appar and Sambandar. Each of them was the head of several maṭhas and Nāvukkaraśu and Sambandar are said to have stayed in these maṭhas. Tirunāvukkaraśu was himself the founder of a maṭha in Tiruppūndurutti[77] and this is supported by his padigam on the deity of that place in which he says that he dwells under the feet of the deity of Tiruppūndurutti, thus expressing the fact that he made for himself a residence there. It was while living in the maṭha at Tiruppūndurutti that Appar composed a variety of songs—the best of his works—Palvagaittāṇḍakam, Tanittiruttāṇḍakam, Aḍaivu Tiruttāṇḍakam and Tiruvarangamālai. Several inscriptions mention the establishment of maṭhas in Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts by Sambandar and his followers. These Śaiva maṭhas, as we see from Cōḷa inscriptions of the 10th century, played an important part in the cultural field of South India. They controlled temple affairs, provided lodgings and food for devotees, and above all, were centres of educational activities and moral and spiritual instruction.

The Maṭhas of Śankara.

We shall not conclude our account of maṭhas in this period without a few remarks about the maṭhas established by Śankarācāryā, the Advaita philosopher. The association of Śankara with Kāñcī and his activities there form an important part of the biographical sketch of the saint. Having won against the Buddhists in a controversy, he is said to have founded a maṭha. Tradition and later literary works[78] emphatically speak of Śankara's establishment of the Kāmakōṭi Piṭha in Kāñcī and the memory of the philosopher is maintained in the place by the presence of a stone image of his enshrined within the famous Kāmākṣī temple. "This is the only image of a very ancient date, while all the other images of Śrī Śankarācāryā are of recent date, not going back beyond fifty years".[79]

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[77] Periyapurāṇam, Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār Purāṇam, v. 389.

[78] "Śaṅkara Vijaya" by Mādhava. "Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa" by Cidvilāsa (printed in Telugu and Grantha), "Śaṅkara Vijaya kathā" (Ms. in the Madras Oriental Library), "Prācīna Śaṅkara Vijaya", by 'Mukha Śaṅkara' (XVIII head of Kāñcī Maṭha), "Puṇya-ślōka-mañjari" by Sarvajña Sadāsivabōdha (a chronology of the Kāñcī Śaṅkarācāryās). These are a few works that throw light on the life and activities of Śaṅkara.

The date of Śankara has been a vexed problem in Indian History. The late Hon. Justice Telang brought together a number of important points and concluded his study[80] by placing the philosopher between the years A.D. 552 and 590. Dr. T. R. Chintāmaṇi discussed the subject[81] with a few independent facts and after giving due consideration to those already raised by Telang, finally concluded that Śankara must have flourished between A.D. 655 and 689.

Dr. Chintāmaṇi quotes a few verses from a work called 'Śankaravijaya Vilāsa' attributed to one Cidvilāsa. This work mentions a King of Kāñcī by name Rājasēna whom Śankara met when he visited Kāñcī. The author seeks to identify this Rājasēna with the Śaiva monarch Rājasimha Pallava, the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple. Since 'Cidvilāsa' seems to be a late work, we cannot be sure that the account given therein is faithful. In any event, we shall not be wrong if we state that Śankara lived between 600 and 800 A.D.[82] Adopting these dates, we may conclude that the Advaita maṭha in Kāñcī must have been established some time in the later years of Pallava rule. Ānandagiri refers to Śankara's establishment of the central mutt at Kāñcī and the installation of the Yōga Linga in his Pūja in the following words:—

> "Tatraiva nijāvāsa yogyam maṭhamapi parikalpya tatra nijasiddhānta paddhatim prakaṭayitum-antevāsinam Sureśvaramāhūya yoganāmakam lingam pūjayeti datvā tvamatra Kāmakōṭipīṭhamadhivaseti samsthāpya."

Though we have no definite contemporary historical evidences to describe the condition and status of the maṭha at Kāñcī, still we may assume that it must have been a highly influential centre of religion and culture. A later copper plate that is the grant of

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[79] *Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and his Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha*—N. K. Venkatēśan, p. 17.

[80] Ind. Antiquary, vol. XIII, p. 95 et seq.

[81] *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. III.

[82] A verse from 'Soundaryalahari' seems to contain a reference to Sambandar being fed with the milk of knowledge by Pārvatī.

Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gōpala[83] speaks of the gift of a village in the Chingleput District to the head of the maṭha at Kāñcī "when a follower of Śankara was pleasing religious students by daily gifts and food, and expounding to them treasures of the Vēdānta."

The Tēvārams describe Tiruvoṟṟiyūr as a great centre of Śaivism, and tradition asserts that it was one of the earliest religious centres that came under the control of Śankara.[84]

In this connection, two inscriptions from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple are valuable to us. The first[85] is dated in the 19th year of Vijaya Kampavarman and registers the gift of land by an ascetic named Nirañjana Guravar to the Śiva temple built by the Guravar (Guru) and called Nirañjanēśvaram. This inscription clearly makes the Guravar a contemporary of Kampavarman. The other inscription belongs to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III) dated in his 20th year and relating to a gift of money by Caturānana Paṇḍita,[86] the pupil of Nirañjanaguru. The introductory Sanskrit portion of this record is interesting. It says that Caturānana was of Kēraḷa origin, that he became a sanyāsin and a disciple of Nirañjanaguravar and that after the death of Nirañjanaguravar he became the head of the maṭha there.

Regarding the maṭha of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and its gurus, Mr. T. N. Ramachandran remarks[87]:—"In all probability the order of sanyāsins and gurus including our Nirañjanaguru, was created to stem the evil effect of the Sōma-siddhānta and probably owes its origin to the famous reformer Śankara himself, who is said to have created episcopal orders in proper centres, as for instance, Kāñcīpura, to stem the progress of Buddhism, Jainism and other alien faiths, and despised forms of religion such as Sōma-siddhānta."

It is not possible at present to accept Mr. Ramachandran's suggestions that the maṭha at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr with its succession of Gurus and a number of śiṣyas, was the creation of Śankara, for we have nothing more than tradition which connects the philosopher with Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. Even the literary works which deal with the life and work of Śankara do not tell us that he established a maṭha at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. On the other hand, Nirañjanaguravar was perhaps the originator of the maṭha. In any case, that there was a Śaiva maṭha at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the time of Kampavarman and that it continued to play an important part in the early Cōḷa period are certain.[88]

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[83] Ep. Indica, vol. XIII, No. 16, p. 194.

[84] Ep. Rep. 1912 and 1913.

[85] 372 of 1911. "Tiruvoṟṟiyūreḍuppitta Nirañjanēśvarattu Mahādēvarkku mēṟpaḍi iṟai ili dēvabhōgamāga vilaikoṇḍu kaiyiṟ koḍuttu viṟṟukkoṇḍēn Maṇali sakhaiyōn."—lines 39 to 41, Text unpublished.

[86] 181 of 1912.

[87] J.O.R., Madras—1932, July-Oct., p. 228.

The maṭhas of Śankara are still a living institution in South India. A few of them have preserved succession lists of their pontiffs dating back to the originator. To-day there is a maṭha of Śankara in the Mysore territory with Śringēri as its head-quarters and another at Śivagaṅga.[89] Yet another spreads its influence over the ancient Pallava domain with its centre at Kumbakonam.

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[88] It is clear from Cōḷa inscriptions that the maṭha at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr had nothing to do with Śaṅkara or his system of philosophy, but was devoted to the Somasiddhānta and presided over by a succession of Caturānana Paṇḍitas of the Kālāmukha sect. See Cōḷas II, pp. 493-7—Ed.

[89] Nelamangala Taluk—Bangalore District.

CHAPTER XIV

BUDDHIST CENTRES OF LEARNING

Buddhist Monasteries

The monasteries were the principal seats of learning in the Buddhist system of education. The itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims who visited India between the fifth and seventh centuries are our chief sources of information on this subject.

When Fā-Hien visited India between the years 339-414 A.D., the Pallavas had established their power in Kāñcī. We definitely trace their influence in the 4th century A.D. in the Āndhradēśa, especially in the Krishṇa, Guṇṭūr and Nellore Districts.

Thomas Foulkes[1] maintains that Fā-Hien's 'Kingdom called Thā-thsen is the great kingdom of the Pallavas' and we have seen that early Pallava rule extended over a good part of the Deccan.

The glory of an ancient Buddhist Monastery

The pilgrim gives the following account of a monastery in the Deccan.[2] "There is a great rock. It has five storeys in all; the lowest being in the form of an elephant with five hundred stone chambers, the second in the form of a lion, with four hundred chambers, the third in the form of a horse, with three hundred chambers, the fourth in the form of an ox with two hundred chambers, and the fifth in the form of a dove with one hundred chambers. At the very top there is a spring of water which runs in front of each chamber, encircling each storey, round and round, in and out, until it reaches the bottom storey where, following the configuration of the excavations it flows out by the door. In all the Priests' chambers the rock has been pierced for windows to admit light, so that they are quite bright and nowhere dark. At the four corners of these excavations the rock has been bored and steps have been made by which top can be reached........."

In the life of Hiuen Tsang, Dr. Beal discusses the situation of the monastery of Fā-Hien. "The king (Ṣadvaha) prepared the cave-dwelling for him (Nāgārjuna) of which we have a history in the 10th book of the 'Records.' This cave-dwelling was hewn in a mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, i.e., Bhrāmaragiri, the mountain of the black bee (Brahmara-Durgā). Dr. Burgess has identified this mountain with the celebrated Śri-Śaila, bordering on the river Kṛṣṇā called by Schiefner Śrī-Parvata. Doubtless it is the same as that described by Fā-Hien in the 35th chapter of his travels. He calls it the Po-lō-Yue temple, which he explains as 'the Pigeon' (pārāvata) monastery. But a more probable restoration of the Chinese symbols would be the Pārbatī or the Parvata monastery. The symbol Yue in Chinese Buddhist translation is equivalent to 'va' (or 'vat'). We may, therefore, assume that the Po-lō-Yue monastery of Fā-Hien was the Durgā monastery of Hiuen Tsang, otherwise called Śrī Parvata. This supposition is confirmed by the actual history of the place, for Huien Tsang tells us that after the Buddhists had established themselves in the monastery, the Brahmans by a stratagem took possession of it. Doubtless, when in possession, they would give it a distinctive name acceptable to themselves; hence the terms Bhramarā or Bhramarāmbā." [3]

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[1] See his article in the Indian Antiquary, vol. VII, p. 7; and also Legge, 'Travels of Fā-Hien', p. 96, note 6: "Said to be the ancient name of the Deccan."

[2] Giles: "*The Travels of Fā-Hien*", and Legge: p. 97.

Watters identifies the wonderful five-storeyed monastery of Hiuen Tsang on the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li with the Pigeon Monastery of Fā-Hien.[4] He further adds "Bhramarī is one of the epithets of Durgā or Pārvatī, and Beal thinks that in the names for the great monastery used by Fā-Hien and our pilgrim we have 'the mountain of Bhramara, the *black bee,* the synonym of Durgā or Pārvatī.' But a perusal of the passage in the narratives of the two pilgrims will show that there is no hint of the peculiar monastery having ever been other than a Buddhist establishment."

Now the recent excavations at the hill of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Palnāḍ taluk of Guntur District have brought out several inscriptions in Prākṛt. One of them mentions[5] Śrī Parbata (Śrī Parvata) and Dr. Vogel comments on this:—"The Prākṛt word corresponds to Sanskrit 'Śrī Parvata.' Now, there is a tradition preserved in Tibet that Nāgārjuna spent the concluding part of his life in a monastery of that name in Southern India. If this convent is the same as the 'Vihāra on the Śrī Parvata to the east of Vijayapurī' of our inscription, it would follow that the association of the great divine of the Māhāyāna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nāgārjunikoṇḍa." [6]

[3] Life of Hiuen Tsang—by Beal. Introduction, p. 21.
[4] Watters' Yuan Chwang—vol. II, p. 207.
[5] Inscription F. Ep. Indica, vol. XX, p. 22.
[6] Ep. Indica, vol. XX, p. 9.

In the light of the inscription F from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, we may safely identify the Po-lo-yue of Fā-Hien and the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li of Yuàn Chwang with Śrī Parvata or the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa hill.

We have two contemporary epigraphical references to Śrī Parvata, one is the Tāḷaguṇḍa pillar inscription[7] and the other is the Cikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty.[8] The first records :—" Yō-ntapālān Pallavēndrāṇām sahasā vinirjjitya samyugē addhyuvāsa durggamām aṭavīm Śrī Parvata-dvāra samśritām."[9] Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrī Parvata.

In the Cikkulla plates the donor Vikramēndravarman is described as one who meditates on the feet of the holy Lord of Śrī Parvata. As to the identification of Śrī Parvata Dr. Kielhorn remarks :—"Śrī Parvata, which we also find in line 1 of the Cikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II, I, here as there, take to be the sacred Śrī-Śaila in the Karnul District. It is the modern Śrī-Śailam, situated on the west of the Eastern Ghats between them and the river Kistna." [10]

It seems to me that we cannot be quite certain that the Tāḷaguṇḍa pillar inscription mentions the Śrī Parvata of the Karnul District, for we know from the recent excavations that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was also a fortified city.[11] On the other hand we may easily maintain the suggestion of Kielhorn, that the Tālaguṇḍa pillar inscription refers to Śrī Parvata in Karnul District. Capt. Nelson thinks that this Śrī Parvatam "must once have been a vast city, though nothing remains of its former glory except the temple. The ruins of stone bowries of great beauty, and lines of stone walls that everywhere can be seen standing out of the thorn jungle still give an idea of a time that has long since passed away. The country near Śrī-Śailam is mountainous and is covered with forests."[12] This description of Nelson seems to agree with the one in the Tālaguṇḍa inscription where it is stated that Mayūraśarman reached the inaccessible forests stretching to the gates of Śrī Parvata.

From the above account it is clear that in South India we have to recognise two hills by name Śrī Parvata, one a Buddhist stronghold and the other a Śaiva centre. The Śrī Parvata of the Cikkulla plates cannot be any other than the hill of that name in the Karnul District. That this hill is of great antiquity is evident from the following references. The *Vāyupurāna* mentions Śrī Parvata as a place fit for performing śrāddha.[13] The *Matsya*[14] alludes to a class of people known as Śrī Pārvatīyas and describes them as a forest tribe reigning for fifty-two years. Perhaps, these were the people who were living in the forests in the neighbourhood of Śrī Parvata of the Karnul District. The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[15] again refers to Śrī Parvata as a tīrtha. Since it is mentioned among Kāvērī, Kumārī and others, which are tirthas in South India, we may safely decide that Śrī Parvata is also located in the South. Thus we may conclude that the Śrī Parvata of the Purāṇas is the Śrī Parvata of the Karnul District.

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[7] Ep. Indica, vol. VIII.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. IV.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. VIII.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 28, note 4.

[11] Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., 1933—pp. 170-172.

[12] *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XXIII, part II—p. 132.

Secondly, all the three Śaiva Nāyanārs, Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramūrttī, have sung in praise of the God at Śī-Parppada (Śrī Parvata); therefore, this confirms the evidence of the Cikkulla plates which definitely indicate that the deity residing on Śrī Parvata is Śiva.

Thirdly, we have allusions to Śrī Parvata in early and later Sanskrit literature. In '*Ratnāvaḷī*'[16] we find that the Tantric master Śrīkaṇṭha Dāsa, came to Kauśāmbī from Śrī Parvata and taught Udayana the art of making flowers blossom at any season. In the *Mālatī Mādhava* we find Śrī Parvata mentioned in more than one place. It was the residence of the Tantric priest Aghōraghaṇṭa[17] and priestess Kapālakuṇḍalā. In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*[18] we read

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[13] Ch. 77, verse 28.

[14] Ch. 273, verse 23. Others have identified the Śrī Pārvatīyas with the Ikṣvākus.

[15] Ch. 3, section 3, v. 31, and section II, ch. 16, v. 23.

[16] Act II, Pravēśaka :

[17] Acts I, IX and X. The Tantric priest Aghōraghaṇṭa, is represented in the play as a terrific votary of Kāḷī, and Mālatī was a victim in his hands and was about to be sacrificed when Mādhava found her. Now, the Cikkulla plates tell us that Mādhavavarman, the great-grandfather of Vikramēndravarman, performed 'Puruṣamēdhas' or 'human sacrifices'. Since the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings are known to be the devotees of the Lord of Śrī Parvata and the prevalence of Durgā worship in Śrī Parvata is evidenced by Bhavabhūti's play, the Puruṣamēdhas of Mādhavavarman fit in correctly. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, and M. R. Kale identify in their notes on Mālatī Mādhava the Śrī-Śailam of the play with that in the Karnul District.

[18] '*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*'—Ch. LXXXIII.

Besides these literary references we have in Burgess's 'Amarāvati' and 'Jaggayyapētah' Stupas—p. 7, note 4, the following references to Śrī Parvata;

that an ascetic went to Śrī Parvata and performed austerities in order to propitiate Śiva.

It is evident that Śakti or Durgā worship was prevalent in Śrī Parvata. The phrase 'Maḍamoḻiyāḷ punangākka' occurring more than once in Sundaramūrtti's padigam on Śrī Parvata is note-worthy as an indication of the prominent place of Pārvatī in this shrine.

It is possible, then, that Hiuen Tsang's name 'Bhramaragiri' for the Buddhist hill and monastery Śrī Parvata is a mistake. He does not seem to have visited either of the Śrī Parvatas, and having received hearsay reports of both the mountains of the same name, he seems to have by some mistake combined the material in describing the single Buddhist monastery on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa hill. In any event, we have not so far traced any Śakti or Śaiva influence on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa hill. And the Śrī Parvata of the Karnul District shows no signs of Buddhist influence either. Therefore, we may conclude that Śrī Parvata of Fā-Hien and Hiuen Tsang was entirely a Buddhist centre and could not have had the name 'Bhramaragiri.'

When Fā-Hien visited India, the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa hill must have been still a Buddhist stronghold, for, in the days of the Ikṣvāku kings of the 3rd century, it was a flourishing Buddhist centre. It is quite likely that the Pallavas succeeded the Ikṣvākus as rulers of this part of the kingdom and that the monastery of Śrī

"The Matśya Purāṇa speaks of a family of Śrī Parvatīya Āndhras, which may refer to a petty dynasty of kings ruling either at Śrī Śailam itself, or across the river, at Candraguptapaṭnam in the vicinity. They are said to have ruled fifty-two years, and are perhaps the same race to which the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assigns seven kings. Wilson, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Hall's Ed., Vol. IV, p. 208; Lassen, Ind. Alterth, Vol. II, p. 1212 n. 'Śrī Parvata' or Śrī Śaila' is mentioned in the Mahabh. III, 8160; Suśruta, II, 169, 2; Brih. Samhita, XVI, 3; Markand. Pur. LVII, 15; Vasavad., 87, 2; Bhag. Pur. V, 19, 16; X, 29, 13; Kathā Sarit Sāgara, 65, 66, 73, 105. In the Matśya Purāṇa, where the names of Durgā are given, she is said to be called Mādhavī at Śrī-Śailam; in the Śiva Purāṇa the Linga here is called 'Mallikārjuna.' When Bāṇa was slain by Śiva as he was traversing the Heavens, part of his carcass fell at Śrī Śilam in Siddhikṣētra, another at Amarakaṇṭaka, and the remainder near Gangasāgara. Rēvāmāhātmya, Ch. XXIX, in Wilson, Selected Works, Vol. V, page 118. In the Sankarakṣēpa Sankarajaya, "Sankara adores in Maharāṣṭra the Mallikārjuna of Śrī-Śaila"; and in the Agni Purāṇa, Śrī is said to have performed austerities there. The shrines are dedicated to Mallikārjuna, a form of Śiva, and to Pārvatī and Bhramarāmbā, to the latter of whom a sheep is sacrificed every Tuesday and Friday, a survival of the old bloody sacrifices offered to all forms of Durgā. There is a Mallikārjuna Śataka;—Wilson. Mack. Collections—Vol. I, p. 350."

Parvata[19] was a living institution when the early Pallavas held sway over the Deccan and South India. We may agree with Dr. Vogel[20] in stating that the cause of the decline of Buddhism in this part of India (on the coast of Krishna) was partly due to the rise of the powerful dynasty—the Pallavas—who were devoted to Brāhmanism.

The Monasteries in An-to-lō (*Āndhra*)

Hiuen Tsang relates that "from Kōsala he travelled South, through a forest for above nine hundred *li* to the An-to-lō country. This country was above 3,000 *li* in circuit and its capital Ping-ch'i (or ki)-lo was above twenty *li* in circuit." "There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high halls and storeyed terraces wrought with perfect art, and containing an exquisite image of the Buddha. In front of the monastery was a stone tope, some hundreds of feet high, tope and the monastery being the work of the Arhat-A-che-lō (Ācāra, translated by So-hsing 'performance' or 'rule of conduct'). Near the South-west of this monastery was an Aśōka tope where the Buddha preached, displayed miracles and received into his religion a countless multitude."[21]

From the above account we learn that in the time of Hiuen Tsang, the monastery near the capital Ping-ki-lo was still a living institution. Now, we must bear in mind that the Chinese traveller of the 7th century visited the Āndhrāpatha about thirty years after the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty was founded at Vēngī by Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, but the Cāḷukyas are believed to have captured it from the Pallavas who were in possession of Āndhrāpatha including Vēngī. The Mayidavōlu plates [22] of Śivaskandavarman mention 'Āndhrāpatha' as a part of the Pallava kingdom and the Mangadūr grant of Simhavarman II speaks of 'Vengōrāṣṭra'[23] probably the region round the capital Vēngī.

These are the points from Pallava epigraphy to show that they were rulers of the Āndhradēśa with Vēngī as capital for some time between the fourth and fifth century A.D., and during this time the Buddhist Saṅghārāma near the capital must have been in a flourishing condition. It is very probable that the large ruins at Guṇṭappaḷḷi, sixteen miles from Pedda Vēngī, are the relics of this Saṅghārāma. "They consist of a Caitya cave, a circular chamber with a simple façade containing a dagaba cut in the solid rock, and several sets of vihāra caves with entrance halls and chambers on each side". Hiuen Tsang says that here "the language and arrangement of sentences of the people differ from mid-India, but with reference to the shapes of the letters, they are nearly the same". This description may very well apply to the people round Pedda Vēngī.

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[19] The same name 'Śrī Parvata' given both to the Buddhist and the Hindu Hills, finds an analogy in the term 'Kōvil' applied both to the Śaiva temple at Cidambaram and to the Vaiṣṇava temple at Śrīrangam.

[20] Ep. Indica, Vol. XX, p. 10.

[21] Watters II, p. 209.

[22] Ep. Indica, Vol. VI.

[23] Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 156.

Monasteries in Tēna-ka-chē-ka (*Dhanakaṭaka*)

From An-to-lo (Āndhra) the pilgrim went to Dhanakaṭaka evidently the country round our present Dharaṇikota near Amarāvati. He describes:—"There was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries, but most of them were deserted, about twenty being in use, with 1000 brethren mostly adherents of the Mahāsāngika system. There were above hundred Dēva-temples and the followers of the various sects were very numerous. At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called Fu-p'o-shih-lo (Pūrvaśilā) or 'East Mountain' and at a hill to the west of the city was the A-fa-loshih-lo (Avaraśilā) or "West Mountain" monastery. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former king of the country who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rocks had formed high halls with long broad corridors continuous with the steep sides of the hills".[24]

It is known that the Sātavāhanas, the predecessors of the Pallavas, made Dhamñakaḍa their capital and ruled from there, but under the Pallavas Dhamñakaḍa was only a seat of Provincial Government as known from the Mayidavōlu plates.[25]

Several scholars have attempted to identify the Pūrvaśaila and the Avaraśaila monasteries of the pilgrim. Burgess identifies[26] the Pūrvaśaila monastery with the Amarāvati tope while Fergusson said that the Avaraśaila monastery should have been the Amarāvati tope. Watters criticises the above identifications in the following words: "It is hard to understand how any one could propose to identify a large monastery among hills and streams, and having spacious chambers and great corridors, with a building

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24. Watters II, p. 214.
25. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 86.
26. Amarāvati Stūpa.

which is only a remarkable tope situated on a plain. Mr. Burgess, because the tope and its surroundings do not suit the account of the monastery, writes of the pilgrim as not having personally visited the place, forgetting the statement in the Life that he spent several months here visiting the sacred sights of the district in company with native Brethren." [27]

Before discussing the location of the Pūrvaśaila and the Avaraśaila monasteries, let us make clear an important point. Writers and commentators on Buddhist philosophy have clearly pointed out that Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila are two schools of Buddhist philosophy.

Beal mentions the Pūrvaśaila and the Avaraśaila as two of the eighteen schools of Buddhist philosophy. [28] Burgess relates that after the death of Buddha, "the Buddhist teachers soon began to differ on minor points, and the church was early split into two great schools—the Mahāsānghikas or school of the great congregation and the Mahāsthāviras or school of the Great President. The Mahāsānghikas soon after split into five schools—the Caityikas, Caityaśailas or Pūrvaśailas, [29] the Avaraśailas, the Haimavatas, the Lokōttaravādins and the Prajñaptivādins. The first are said to have arisen from the teaching of an ascetic who lived on Mount Caityaka.

Now, it is to be noted that among the names of localities mentioned in an inscription from Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa we find Pūrvaśaila. [30] This again goes to support our statement that Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila are only schools of philosophy[31] though they are so called because of the location of the place from where they originated.

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[27] Watters II, p. 218.

[28] Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, "Eighteen Schools of Buddhist Philosophy."

[29] Burgess. *Amarāvati and Jaggayyapētah Stūpas,* p. 24. Burgess further adds in a note: "The Pūrvaśailas were followers of Mahādēva, an early teacher. (Burnouf, Intr. a l'Histour, du Bud. Ind. 2d. ed., p. 398, Vāssiliev, p. 229; Tāranātha, pp. 175, 271, 273. They were known in Ceylon as 'Pubbasēliyas' (Mahāvamsō, p. 21)."

[30] "Hiuen Tsang further relates that to the east of the capital on a mountain there stood a convent called Pūrvaśilā and on a mountain to the west was another called Avaraśilā. Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśilā and Avaraśilā, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being 'Śaila,' whereas 'Śila' means 'stone.' Now, it is worthy of note that among the localities mentioned in inscription F, we meet with the same Pūrvaśila which is clearly a Prākrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvaśaila. A name, meaning 'Eastern mountain or hill' may, of course, have been used in different places in India. But it is a point worth considering whether the remains of Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dannakaṭaka which Archaeologists have sought both at Dharaṇikōta near Amarāvati and at Bezwada." (Ep. Ind., XX, Vogel's Intr., p. 9).

Having made this distinction clear, we shall consider the description of Hiuen Tsang. His Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila monasteries were evidently two seats of Buddhist philosophy, but both situated on a hill somewhere near Dharaṇikōṭa on the banks of the Krishna.

Of the several identifications put forth by scholars regarding the location of the Pūrvaśaila and the Avaraśaila monasteries of Hiuen Tsang, to me the most fitting is that of Sewell.[32] He said that the capital of Te-na-ka-chē-ka of the pilgrim was Bezwada, and the Pūrvaśaila Sanghārāma referred to the rock-cut caves on the east of the Bezwada hill and that the Avaraśaila Sanghārāma was the caves on the west of the same hill. I carefully examined every one of the rock-cut caves on the hills of Bezwada and compared the description of the pilgrim and am convinced that Mr. Sewell's identity is the correct one.[33] Therefore, we may safely conclude that the Pūrvaśaila and the Avaraśaila monasteries were located on the Bezwada hill.

As regards the terraced monastery to the south of the capital, I see no reason why Sewell should be considered wrong. The Brahminical features of the Uṇḍavalli caves which Mr. Fergusson cites against the identity of Sewell may well be later additions.

It is possible that the Uṇḍavalli caves were originally occupied by Buddhists and converted into Hindu places of worship in the time of the Pallavas. Thus we may state that both the Bezwada hills and the Uṇḍavalli hills were centres of Buddhist learning when the Chinese traveller visited them in the seventh century.

Monasteries in Chu-lī-ya (*Cōḷa country*)

From Dhanakaṭaka the pilgrim went south-west about 1000 *li* to Chu-lī-ya which has been rendered as the Cōḷa country. The pilgrim relates: "The Buddhist monasteries were in ruins and only some of them had brethren; there were several tens of Dēva temples, and the Digambaras were numerous. To the South-east of the capital, and near it, was an Aśōka tope where the Buddha had preached, wrought miracles, overcome Tīrthikas and received men and dēvas into his communion."[34]

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[31] Mahāvamsa, Ed. Geiger, p. 283, Appendix B.

[32] J.R.A.S., 1880, pp. 98 ff.

[33] The discovery by Dubreuil of Buddhist remains in Bezwada confirms Sewell's identification. "On the 1st January 1917, I went to Bezwada with the object of visiting the caves of Uṇḍavalli. When going about those regions, I luckily discovered the ruins of a Buddhistic temple at Vijiaderpuram, a village half a mile to the west of Bezwada. Amongst the remains of brick walls there were two heads of Buddha and a trunk dressed in the Roman tōga. One of these heads was very beautiful."—*The Pallavas*, Dubreuil, p. 11.

A good portion of the Cōḷa country described by Hiuen Tsang must have formed part of the Pallava territory. Cunningham suggests that the Cōḷa country must be either in the neighbourhood of Karnul or should be identified with the famous province of Cōḷa and the well-known capital Tanjore.[35] Fergusson, however, assuming that the object for which the pilgrim was travelling here was 'to get to the port of embarkation for Ceylon', thinks that the direction and the distance would take us to Nellore which is an important place.[36] If it is Nellore and its regions, the monastery and the other Buddhist ruins described by the traveller must have belonged to the Pallava country at the time.

Kāñcī, a school of Buddhist culture.

We have already remarked that Kāñcī was a centre of not only Brahmanic learning but also of Buddhist culture. The names of several celebrated Buddhist philosophers and logicians are connected with Kāñcī. Vātsyāyana the author of *Nyāya Bhāṣya* is designated a Drāviḍa[37] (i.e., a native of Drāviḍa) with its capital Kāñcī. This Vātsyāyana who lived about 400 A.D., must be distinguished from the sages of that name, the compilers of *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāma Sūtra*. Dignāga, Dharmapāla and Bodhidharma were born and brought up in the Pallava capital.

Tradition favours the view that Buddhism in Kāñcī is as old as the days of its founder and the Buddha is said to have visited the place and converted many people. The account of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang confirms this belief; still we have to accept the statement of the traveller with caution for there is no other evidence to test the correctness of his information or any proof to show that Buddhism made real progress in South India during the life-time of its founder.

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[34] Watters' Translation, p. 224.

[35] *Ancient Geography*, Majumdar, p. 626.

[36] J.R.A.S., Vol. VI, p. 264.

[37] "The title 'Svāmin' appended to 'Pakṣila' in the name 'Pakṣila Svāmin' also points to the same country as his birth place. "It may be of some interest to note that Vātsyāyana makes a reference to the boiling of rice which is a staple food of the people of Drāviḍa."—*Indian Logic*, Vidyābhūṣana, p. 117.

We are on firmer ground when we come to the period of Aśōka. The Singhalese chronicle Mahāvamsa and Fa-Hien's account clearly indicate that Buddhism had taken deep root in the Deccan by the first centuries of the Christian era and we have also evidences to prove that the Pāṇḍyan country was a centre of Buddhism in the days of Aśōka.

Next, we have the account of the Tamil epic *Maṇimēkalai* which glorifies Kāñcī as a seat of Buddhist philosophy and culture. While at Kāñcī, Maṇimēkalai is said to have visited the Buddhist caitya built by Kiḷḷi, a Cōḷa prince. Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar has maintained that Aṟavaṇa Aḍigaḷ, the preceptor of Maṇimēkalai, represented a school of philosophy in Kāñcī and that Dignāga belonged to the same school of philosophy as Aṟavaṇa Aḍigaḷ.[38]

Monasteries in Kāñcī and its neighbourhood.

Hiuen Tsang informs us[39] that the Drāviḍa country whose capital was Kāñcī, consisted of about hundred Buddhist monasteries with above ten thousand Brethren. He adds that not far from south of Kāñcī was a large Sanghārāma which was "a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country. It had an Aśōka tope above 100 feet high where the Buddha had once defeated Tīrthikas by preaching and had received many into his communion. Near it were traces of a sitting place and exercise walk of the Four Past Buddhas."

Now, the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahēndravarman speaks of Buddhist friars in the capital. It mentions a Buddhist vihāra somewhere very near or in Kāñcī, and it may be the same as the one mentioned by the Chinese traveller. The Buddhist friar calls the vihāra 'Rāja Vihāra'[40] which indicates that it was either built or patronised by a king. One of the early tolerant Pallava kings of Kāñcī might well have been the builder of this Vihāra.

The material prosperity of this vihāra is known by the words of Devasōma[41] who remarks that this particular monastery has heaps of riches drawn from the revenues of many (other) monasteries. From this it is clear that the Kāñcī vihāra in the time of Mahēndravarman was the head of several monasteries in the neighbourhood. The Buddhist friar in the play informs us that the vihāra at Kāñcī was largely endowed by a lay Buddhist merchant named Dhanadāsa.[41a] "Ah, our lay brother Merchant Dhanadāsa's grand charities surpass all houses."

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[38] *Maṇimēkalai in its historical setting.*

[39] Watters, Vol. II, p. 226.

[40] "Yāvadidānīm Rājavihāramēva gacchāmi," Text, p. 12.

[41] "Eṣa punaranēka vihārabhōga samadhigata vitta sañcayō", Text, p. 23.

Buddhist Schools of Philosophy

We may trace the introduction of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism in the South to Nāgārjuna. Tradition asserts that he went to Nāgalōka[42] to learn all the sūtras and having learnt them returned to his country and converted a southern king and ten thousand Brahmans to Buddhism.

The different schools of Buddhist philosophy and logic were all represented in Kāñcī. The Yōga School of philosophy in Kāñcī, as already observed, was as old as Aṟavaṇa Aḍigaḷ and in the fifth century, Dignaga was the chief exponent of this branch of Philosophy and logic. Besides we learn from Hiuen Tsang that when he visited Kāñcī he saw three hundred bikṣus from Ceylon who were versed in Yōga philosophy and that the pilgrim had conversation with them.[43]

The most popular school of philosophy prevalent in the Pallava country and its capital was the Sthāvira School. Hiuen Tsang says: "There are some hundred Sanghārāmas and ten thousand priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthāvira (Chang-tso-pu) school belonging to the Great Vehicle."

Yet another school of Buddhism represented in Kāñcī was the Dhyāna school. "This is called in Japanese 'Zen ṣhu'. This was introduced into China by an Indian priest called Bōdhidharma. He was the third son of a king of Kāñcī in South India. He came to China in A.D. 527."[44]

[41a] "Ahō Upāsakasya Dhanadāsa śreṣṭhinaḥ sarvāvāsamāhādāna mahimā," p. 11, Text.

[42] *Indian Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 142:—Nāgārjuna may be assigned to the period between 250-300 A.D. In 401 A.D. his biography was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva.

[43] *Life of Hieun Tsang*, Beal, p. 139; see also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 628, Ed. Majumdar.

[44] Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, pp. 5-6.

Beal definitely tells us in a note that Bōdhidharma lived in A.D. 520 and that he was the twenty-eighth Patriarch who visited China from South India.[45]

Some distinguished South Indian Buddhist Scholars.

Among the distinguished scholars of Buddhism who went abroad from South India to spread their knowledge, Dignāga's name comes first. He won laurels in debates at the famous Buddhist University of Nālandā. Dignāga's disciple Dharmapāla was the eldest son of a high official of the Pallava king. He was first a student of Nālandā of which he subsequently became the head. As a famous logician and grammarian he was the author of several commentaries and wrote books in Sanskrit. These facts show the intimate connection of South India and North India in the field of Buddhist culture.

Some special features of Buddhist institutions of learning.

Neither Fā-Hien nor his successor Hiuen Tṣang mentions any Pallava king as having been a patron of Buddhist monasteries. This clearly shows that the vihāras flourished independent of the sovereign's material support except perhaps the Rājavihāra at Kāñcī. Secondly, the course of studies in the vihāras was mainly concentrated on the different systems of Buddhist philosophy and the scholars were expected to spread their religion as in the days of Aśōka by going out and preaching. A more special feature which we observe both in the North and South India about the 7th century is the antagonism of the Buddhist scholars against the rising leaders of the different Hindu sects. Part of the time of the Buddhist students and professors was spent in engaging the leaders of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in philosophical controversies. The *Periyapurāṇam* teems with references to such disputes between the Nāyanārs and their contemporary leaders of Buddhism. At Taḷiccēri near Koṭṭappadi Sambandar had a controversy with Sāriputta and Buddhanandi, the Buddhist leaders. He is reported to have defeated and converted them.[46]

According to Hiuen Tsang, Śīlabhadra, the eminent scholar of Nālandā and a disciple of Dharmapāla, defeated a very learned but proud Brahman from South India in a long philosophic discussion. Tradition asserts that Śankara, the Advaita philosopher, defeated a number of Buddhists who engaged themselves in a controversy with him when he visited Kāñcī.

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[45] Beal, Book III, p. 119.

[46] *Periyapurāṇam*: Śambandar Vv. 904-26.

It should, however, be observed that from the accounts of the Chinese writers we can see that Buddhist monasteries were comparatively few when the Pallavas were on the throne and that these institutions as a whole exhibited signs of decline.

CHAPTER XV

JAINA SEATS OF LEARNING

The invaluable contribution of Jaina scholars to South Indian learning and culture, especially to Tamil literature, is well-known; the 'Nālaḍiyār,' 'Paḻamoḻi Nānūṟu' and 'Jīvakacintāmaṇi' are works of eminent Jaina writers. From the Tamil Epics 'Śilappadikāram' and 'Maṇimēkalai' we learn that in the early part of the second century A.D., Jainism had taken deep root in the Tamil land, attracted a considerable section of the population to the new faith and also received the patronage of the royal houses.

Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyangar maintains[1] that the third and fourth centuries of the Christian Era appear to be a perfect blank in the history of the Jains in the Tamil kingdom. The cause of this he assigns to the animosity of the Brahmans towards the Jainas and says that the former in their literature were very reluctant to take notice of the latter. However that may be, the Jains formed a separate Śangam which was constituted by Vajranandi, the pupil of Śrī Pūjyapāda in the year 525 "after the death of Vikrama"[2] (470 A.D.). The seat of this Śangam, according to 'Digambara Darśanasāra' of Dēvasēna was Southern Madura, and it was composed of entirely Digambara Jainas. This information is indeed obtained from a later work; however, in the light of the history of Jainism in the Madura District, it may not be improbable that there was formed a separate Śangam of the Jains about this period. This Śangam was perhaps modelled on the earlier Tamil Śangam, and among other things, served as a literary academy. It was perhaps the presence of this institution that was partly responsible for the swift progress of Jainism in this part of the country.

The history of the monastery of Pāṭalīputra

We can trace the history of Pāṭaliputra over a longer period than that of any other Jain centre. From the Jaina work 'Lōkavibhāga' we are able to infer that there was, from the early days of Pallava rule, a Jaina monastery in South Arcot which was included in the

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1. *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 51.
2. Siripuññjapādasīsō dāviḍasaṅghassa kāragōvuṭṭhō
Nāmēṇa Vajjaṇaṁdī pāhuḍavēdī mahāsatthō.
Fañcasayē chavīsē Vikkamarāyassa maraṇapattassa
Dakkhiṇamahurājādō Dāviḍasaṅghō mahāmōhō.
J.B.B.R.A.S. XVII, 1, p, 74.

Pallava Kingdom. We learn that the above work was copied by a Jaina scholar residing in Pāṭalikā in Pāṇarāṣṭra—"Grāmē ca Pāṭalikā nāmani Pānarāṣṭrē ".[3]

Mr. Narasimhācāriyār, the discoverer of this work, has identified Pāṭalikā with Pāṭalīputra where, according to the *Periyapurāṇam,* there was a large Jain monastery in the seventh century A.D. In view of the importance of the monastery in the seventh century and its intimate association with the contemporary Pallava King (Mahēndravarman I) Mr. Narasimhācāriyār is clearly justified in his identification.

He thinks that Pāṇarāṣtra may be Perumbāṇappāḍi and the province over which the Bāṇas ruled. This is not unlikely, for Perumbāṇappāḍi then might have comprised Tiruvadi and its neighbourhood.[4] Since the work 'Lōkavibhāga' assigns the date Śāka 380 (458 A.D.) for its completion, we may infer that the history of the Pāṭaliputra monastery where the author of the work lived goes back to an earlier date than that of the Jaina Śangam in Madura.[5] The organisation of the Śangam in the year Vikrama Samvat 528 (470 A.D.) might have marked one more stage in the progress of Jainism in South India after the foundation of Pāṭaliputra, a progress which culminated in the conversion of the greatest Pallava King Mahēndravarman, the Pāṇḍya Neḍumāṟan and the illustrious Tamil poet and saint Nāvukkaraśu.

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[3] Mysore Archaeological Report, 1909-10, p. 45.

[4] One wonders whether the old name Pāṇaruṭṭi, the modern Panṟuṭṭi, is a relic of the Bāṇa sway in this part of South Arcot.

[5] (a) Fleet, in an able article, has cited all the arguments for and against the Śāka date 380. He does not reject the date as useless and adds: "I have no wish to reject unnecessarily anything that can by any means be made useful in settling the early history, and as I find that a Pallava King Simhavarman, known from inscriptional sources—namely Simhavarman II of the Maṅgaḍūr and Pikīra records, is really to be placed not long before A.D. 500, I am disposed to think, subject to such reservations as naturally present themselves, that we may go so far as to accept this date of Śāka 380, A.D. 458, with the effect of putting the beginning of his reign in A.D. 436 or 437, as approximately a good one for him, and as giving a fairly sound starting point for fixing the early Pallava chronology and other matters connected with it."—(Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 482). (b) Lewis Rice, editing the Penukoṇḍa plates of (Gaṅga) Mādhavavarman II, accepts all the conclusions of R. Narasimhācāriyār though he knows Fleet's doubts. (Ep. Indica, Vol. XIV, p. 334). (c) H. Krishna Śāstri (Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 252-255) however, shows that the initial date 436 for Simhavarman II is contradicted by the eclipse in his fourth year mentioned in Ōṁgōḍu II dated the 22nd year of Simhavarman. Against this conclusion of Krishna Śāstri, see Dr. Krishnaswāmy Aiyangār's arguments in J.I.H., Vol. II, p. 56, (d) I have tentatively accepted the date 436 A.D. as the initial year for Simhavarman, because I have not so far come across any fundamental objection to this date in Pallava history.

Composition of the Monastery

The 'Lōkavibhāga' is purely a Digambara Jaina work; therefore, it is certain that the monastery where it was translated and copied was composed of Digambara Jains. Besides, we see from several references in Appar's padigams that when he was a Jain he lived in the midst of Digambaras: "Pūvaiyāyttalai parittupporiyaṟṟa śamaṇṇīśar śollē kēṭṭu":—"Kāviśēr kaṇmaḍavār kaṇḍōḍikkadava ḍiakkum kaḷvanēn":[6] "Nāṇaṟṟār naḷḷāmē viḷḷappeṟṟōm".[7]

In the fifth century A.D. there flourished in the monastery eminent scholars like Simha-Sūri-ṛṣi and Sarvanandi, who seem to have been well-versed in Prākṛt and Sanskrit.

The institution continued to flourish and in the seventh century, we hear from the *Periyapurāṇam* that Maruṇīkkiyār (Appar) entered the monastery and embraced Jainism. There, having mastered all the Jaina literature, he was admired by the Jaina scholars who bestowed on the young man the name Dharmasēna and subsequently made him the head of the monastery. Dharmasēna won great fame by defeating the Buddhists in a controversy and stood foremost among the Jaina arhats of the place.[8]

Monastery under Royal patronage.

In verse 3 of the closing stanzas of 'Lōkavibhāga' we read that the work was completed in the Śāka year 380 which corresponded to the 22nd regnal year of Simhavarman "the Lord of Kāñcī." This is no other than a Pallava king and has been identified with Simhavarman II:—

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[6] Appar, Tiruvārūr Padigam: Beginning words 'Meyyellām.'

[7] *Tiruttāṇḍagam*, 'Nāmārkum kuḍiyallōm.'

[8] Pāṭalīputtira mennum padi aṇaindu śamaṇpaḻḻi
Māḍaṇaindār vallamaṇar maruṅgaṇaindu maṟṟavarkku
Vīḍaṟiyum neṟi iduve enameypōl taṅgaḷuḍan
Kūḍavarum uṇarvukoḷak kuṟipalavuṅgoḷuvinār.

Aṅgavarum amaṇśamayattaruṅgalainūlānavelām
Pongum uṇar vuṟappayinṟē anneṟiyir pulam śiṟappat
Tungamuḷu uḍaṟcamaṇar śūḻndu magiḻvar avarkkut
Tangaḷinmelān Darumaśēnar enum peyarkoḍuttār.

Attuṟaiyin mīkkūrum amaidiyināl akaliḍattil
Śittanilai aṟiyāda Tēraraiyum vādinkaṇ
Uyattavuṇarvinil venṟe ulaginkāṇ oḷiyuḍaiya
Vittagarāy amaṇśamayattalaimaiyinil mēmpaṭṭār.

> " Samvatsarē tu dvāvimśē Kāñciśaḥ Simhavarmaṇaḥ
> Aśītyagre Śakāhvānām siddham ētacchata-trayē ".[9]

Apart from the valuable datum which the stanza provides for Pallava chronology, the mention of Simhavarman with all the reverence due to him makes us presume that the Pallava king was patron of this institution.

The heyday of the monastery was reached during the reign of Mahēndravarman I. Being a cultured man of high literary taste, he was perhaps attracted by the literary work of these Jain scholars and eventually went over to their faith. When Appar abandoned the Jaina monastery of Pāṭalīputra and was re-converted to Śaivism by his sister Tilakavati, it was these Jains that bitterly complained to the Pallava king about the sudden desertion of their favourite Dharmasēna. The *Periyapurāṇam* tells us that the Jains, with the permission of the king, violently persecuted Appar. How far the Pallava king was responsible for these persecutions, we can never know. But the fact remains that the Jains of Pāṭaliputra at this time were favourities of the Pallava king and commanded great influence in the king's court. The monastery in the 7th century was thus the leading centre of Jainism in the Pallava kingdom served by Dharmasēna and supported by Mahēndravarman.

The destruction of the Monastery.

According to the *Periyapurāṇam* the men who had made the monastery what it was in the seventh century, were the very persons who unmade it. Appar who, as the head of the institution defeated several Bauddhas and enlarged the reputation of the monastery, when re-converted to Śaivism, began to denounce the Jains, preach and sing the praise of the Almighty Śiva and attract many to his new faith. (His activities as a champion of Śaivism form part of the great Hindu revival which led to the downfall of the Jains not only in Pāṭaliputra but in South India as a whole. Secondly, Mahēndravarman, immediately after his re-conversion to Śaivism, became a Jain-hater and exercised all means to suppress the faith. The Jains of Pāṭaliputra not only lost the support of a great monarch but failed to withstand the rising

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[9] Archaeological Report of Mysore, 1909-10, p. 45.
On 'Kāñciśah Simhavarmaṇah' see Fleet's comment—J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 475, Note 3.

Śaivas who were now the favourites of the king. We are told that Mahēndravarman alias Guṇabharan (Guṇadharan) destroyed the Jain monastery and with that material built the Śiva temple at Tiruvadi.[10] We hear no more of Pāṭalīputra.

Jina-Kāñcī.

The Pallava capital has been a seat of Jain culture from the earliest days of the Christian Era. Jina-Kāñcī is mentioned as one of the four seats of learning by the Digambara Jains of Mysore[11] and it is certain Jina-Kāñcī is no other than the village of Tirupparuttikunṟam situated on the right bank of the Vēgavati and two miles from Kāñcī town.

When Mahēndravarman I was a Jain, Jina-Kāñcī was perhaps a Diagambara stronghold patronised by the king, but its history falls into obscurity in the days of the Śaiva monarch Rājasimha and his immediate predecessors, but in the days of the later Pallavas there was a revival. Local tradition assigns the construction of the two temples in Tirupparuttikkunṟam to a Pallava king who built them at the instance of two Jaina teachers who lived in the village. One of the two temples, as has been maintained by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran,[12] is distinctly Pallava in style but the other belongs to a later period. He has suggested that the Candraprabha temple might have been constructed by Nandivarman Pallava Malla. As there are indications to show that in the time of Pallava Malla the Hindus were well disposed towards the Jains and that Pallava Malla himself was not a persecutor of the Jains, the suggestion may be accepted.

From a study of the history of Tirupparuttikkunṟam from its earliest days to the present time, there is no doubt that the Jains of this place in the Pallava days as well as in the later times contributed much towards the maintenance of their faith in South India as a whole.

Jain centres in the North Arcot District.

The hill four miles to the south-west of Arcot is popularly known as Pañcapāṇḍavamalai and Tiruppāṇmalai. There are a number of excavations on this hill and the largest is an artificial cave near the base of the eastern face of it, which slopes down precipitously. Mr. Venkayya describes the cave thus:—" This cave consists of seven cells, containing six pairs of pillars. Neither the cave itself nor the pillars have any sculptures or inscriptions. A short distance above the cells is a rock-cut Jaina image which resembles another that will be noticed below, but is more roughly executed. On the Southern side of the rock, halfway up, is a natural cave which contains a pool of water. Within the cave is cut, in high relief, a seated female figure with a caurī in her left hand, attended by a smaller male figure on her proper right. In front of the seat on which the female figure sits are three small figures, a man standing, another on horse-back and a third, standing figure, apparently female. On the front face of the rock which overhangs the cave is engraved the inscription A. Farther to the left, but higher up on the same face of the rock is a seated Jaina figure with a caurī on each side of its head. This is the figure which has been already mentioned as resembling the one above the seven cells. On the western face of the rock, which slopes inwards, is engraved the inscription B. Underneath this inscription is a rough and weather-worn naked male figure, and below it, to its proper left a standing quadruped—dog or tiger,—which faces the proper right. The sculptures and, as will be seen in the sequel, the inscriptions as well, prove that the hill and its neighbourhood originally belonged to the Jains."

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[10] Viḍaṟiyā śamaṇarmoḻi poyyenṟu meyyuṇarnda
Kāḍavanum Tiruvadigai nagarinkaṇ kaṇṇudaṟkup
Pāṭaḻiputtirattil amaṇpaḻḻiyoḍu pāḻikaḷum
Kūḍaviḍittukoṇarndu Guṇabharavīccarameḍuttān.

[11] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXII, p. 460.—Burgess.

[12] *Tirupparuttikunṟam and its temples*—T. N. Ramachandran.

Inscription A is dated in the fifth year of Nandivarman (Pallava Malla) and records that an inhabitant of the village of Pugaḻimangalam caused to be engraved an image of Ponniyakkiyār attended by the preceptor Nāganandin. " Ponniyakkiyār is the honorific plural of Ponniyakki, which consists of the Tamil word 'Pon'—Gold, and 'Iyakki' the Tamil form of the Sanskrit 'Yakṣī'. There is hardly any doubt that, of the group of five figures which are engraved in the cave below the inscription, the sitting female figure represents Ponniyakki. The male figure standing close to her is perhaps intended for Nāganandin."[13]

The Jain Monastery at Veḍāl.

The existence in the same region of another Jain monastery in the later Pallava period is brought to light by a few Tamil inscriptions. At Veḍāl in the North Arcot District there are two hills with two natural caverns. To each of these caverns is attached a maṇḍapam. One of them was intended to be used as a maṭha as evidenced by an inscription[14] at its entrance and the other served as a Jain monastery in the time of Pallava Malla and the early Cōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I).[15]

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[13] Ep. Ind., vol. IV, p. 137.

These two seats of caverns Pāñcapaṇḍavamalai and at Veḍāl indicate that there was in the Arcot district a colony of Jains who were patronised by the later Pallava kings.

Jaina seats of culture in the Pudukkoṭṭah State.

Several natural caverns[16] with stone beds and Brāhmī inscriptions in many parts of South India reveal the fact that in the early days of Jainism, the members of this sect chose secluded spots for their living and for their study. Quiet and cool dwellings in inaccessible forests, away from the busy centres and surrounded on all sides by natural scenery, must have indeed stimulated scholars in their studies.[17]

Then the Jains made the hills not only their places of learning but also their places of woship for the one was not to be separated from the other. Very often we find sculptures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras in these natural caverns and inscribed labels below them giving either the name of the Tīrthankara or the name of the executor.

In the Pudukkoṭṭah State we find several hills with such caverns.

Śittannavāśal.

This village which consists of a group of hills is situated nine miles north-west of Pudukkoṭṭah town. Two objects attract us. One is the steep hill which contains a large cavern on its summit known as Ēḻaḍippaṭṭam with Brāhmī inscriptions and stone beds. The Brāhmī inscription in Aśōkan characters, according to the opinions of scholars who have examined them,[18] takes us as far back as the third or the second century B.C. The hill on which these are found is an elongated rock lying north to south and cut by natural formation of gullies into three sections. The Ēḷaḍippaṭṭam is on the top of the middle division, and on its eastern slope, but accessible only from the West. The immediate approach to the cavern is by a narrow ledge provided with seven foot-holds cut in the rock; (hence called Ēḻu-aḍi=seven steps), and along a narrow foot-path very risky to traverse.

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[14] 81 of 1908.

[15] 82 and 84 of 1908.

[16] Places with Brāhmī inscriptions are Ānaimalai, Tirupparaṅkunṟam, Aḻagarmalai, Śittannavāśal and Vaḷḷimalai in the North Arcot district.

[17] Appar confirms the fact that the Jains lived among hills by the phrase "Kūraiyillā śamaṇar", i.e., Jains living under roofless dwellings.

[18] In the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1906-07 it is stated that 'the alphabet (of the inscriptions in these caverns) resembles that of the Aśōka Edicts, and may be assigned roughly to the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C.; the fact that the language employed in them is Pāli may be taken to show that it was understood in the Pāṇḍyan country

The cavern is very roomy, though low, and contains seventeen stone beds with a raised portion at one end serving the purpose of a pillow. It is on two of these pillows that we find the Brāhmī inscriptions. It has been generally supposed that the cavern was an early resort of Buddhist monks.[19] I have examined carefully the cavern, its stone beds, roof, inscriptions and its surroundings and so far as my search goes, I cannot find any trace of Buddhist influence there. Besides, my attempt to decipher the Brāhmī inscription on the spot has not been fruitless. I am able to read the name 'Namināda' at the beginning of the inscription.

Now, we know that Neminātha, who was also called Nimi or Nimēśvara, was the 21st Tīrthaṅkara whose emblem was a water lily.[20] We have on the rock serving as the roof of the cavern, beautiful paintings of water lilies in rich colours—red and blue. This and the absence of any Bauddha influence tell us that the cavern was inhabited by Jains and that the hill was a stronghold of Jain arhats. This was a sufficient inducement for the Pallava Mahēndravarman to excavate his cave on the slope of this very hill. The rock-cut Jaina cave is situated on the western slope of this hill and contains in all five imposing sculptures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. On the back wall of the inner room are cut in bas-relief three large seated figures of Tīrthaṅkaras bearing triple umbrellas. On the sides of the verandah are two more seated figures, one of which has an umbrella over its head and the other a five-hooded serpent. The Pallava king made this Jain temple not only a peaceful place of worship but also intended it to be an abode of art, for it was painted with exquisite colours by the hands of master artists of the day. One may be sure from the foregoing account that the

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even at that early period, and if the inscriptions and the beds are synchronous, we have in them the earliest lithic records of the Tamil country and the most ancient lithic monument of the Tamil race.'

[19] See the *Manual of Fudukoṭṭah State*, App. XX.

[20] "Tirupparuttikunṟam and its temples" by T. N. Ramachandran—p. 194.

Jains in Śittannavāśal used the cavern of the Ē̱laḍippaṭṭam for their study and meditation and the cave-temple for their worship.

The hill and the cavern seem to have been occupied by the Jains until the end of the 10th century for we find inscribed on the stone beds names of several Jains who were occupying the cavern. The stone pillow next to the one bearing the Brāhmī inscription has the following Tamil inscription in characters of about the 9th century A.D.[21] It reads thus: "Toḻakkunṟattu kaḍavuḷan Tirunīl̄an". Toḻakkunṟam is not a name of any hill in the vicinity, and since Kaḍavuḷan means an ascetic of god-like character, it is possible that the Jaina monk 'Tirunīlan' came from his place Toḻakkunṟām and sought his hermitage in Śittannavāśal. A third bed contains the name 'Tiṭṭaiccāṇan,' a fourth 'Tiruccāttan' and a fifth 'Śrī Pūrṇacandiran Niyattakaran Paṭṭakkāḻi'.[22]

Tēnīmalai.

This is a hill in the Tirumayyam Taluk of the Pudukkoṭṭah State. It is also called Tēnūrmalai and there are unmistakable traces on the hill that it was under Jain occupation. The natural cavern on the hill has been fitted into a monastery and a place of worship. On the walls of the cave are cut in bas-relief figures of three Tīrthaṅkaras, each under a triple umbrella and attended by two women caurī-bearers. Several other mutilated Jain figures are also visible on the rock.

On a boulder standing opposite to the natural cavern there is an inscription[23] recording that Irukkuvēḷ, on seeing Malayadhvajan performing penance on the Tēnūr hill, paid his respects to him and endowed the Paḷḷiccandam (Jain temple and monastery) there. Malayadhvajan was perhaps the head of the Jain monastery on the Tēnī malai when the Iṛukkuvēl met him.[24]

Nārttāmalai.

Yet another centre of Jain scholars in the Pudukkoṭṭah State was Nārttāmalai, a village in the midst of several hills and located about twelve miles north-west of Pudukkoṭṭah town. Nārttāmalai is famous even to this day for its Jain remains and attracts quite a large number of visitors.

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[21] This inscription is in archaic Tamil characters of the 9th century. One or two samples of the letter 'r' resemble Vaṭṭeḻuttu.

[22] The texts of these inscriptions are published in the "Inscriptions of the Pudukkoṭṭah State", No. 7.

[23] Pudukkoṭṭah Inscription No. 9.

[24] We do not know which of the Iṛukkuvēḷs of Koḍumbāḷūr endowed the temple.

It has been suggested that the Jains came from Madura to Nārttāmalai in the time of Sambandar as a result of the persecution under the boy saint. It is stated that "Here the persecuted Jains built temples to their Gods, established monasteries, taught (in) schools and popularised a culture which though unworldly in the extreme, worked as a lever of refinement among the people with whom they came in contact. And these statements are made on the authority of the local inscriptions."[25]

On the other hand, it has been rightly pointed out[26] that the Jain community must have been in possession of these hills of Nārttāmalai much earlier than the days of Sambandar.

There are eight hills in Nārttāmalai which are now known by the following names:—(1) Mēl-malai, (2) Kōṭṭaimalai, (3) Kaḍambar-malai, (4) Paraiyan-malai, (5) Uvacca-malai, (6) Āḷurutti-malai (7) Maṇ-malai and (8) Pon-malai. Of these Mēl-malai and Āḷurutti-malai were occupied by Jains. The Mēl-malai (Western hill) is popularly known as Śamaṇa-malai (Jain hill). It seems to have been a fortified hill showing traces of a fort. Now, let us concentrate on the cavern called 'Śamaṇar Kuḍagu' (Jain cave).

Mr. S. R. Balasubramanyan and Mr. Venkataraṅgam Raju have identified the Śamaṇar kuḍagu with the Viṣṇu cave on the Mēl-malai. "The Northern cave temple No. 1 must have been once a Jaina cave (Śamaṇa-Kuḍagu as it is called); but it has been converted into a Viṣṇu temple in later times."[27] There is nothing to warrant this identification, for when we approach the summit of the Mēl-malai, we find the Śamaṇar Kuḍagu, a cavern cut in the rock and beautifully made into a dwelling place, very much like the one on the Teṇīmalai. There are steps leading up to this cavern which is quite different from the caves of the Pallavas on the same hill.

I have been inside this cavern and I was distinctly told that this was the Śamaṇar-kuḍagu. Since this cavern on the top of the hill appears to be a fit place for dwelling, the Śamaṇas must have utilised the Mēl-malai for their living and must have had the

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[25] "Nārttāmalai and its temples" by Mr. S. R. Balasubramanyan and Mr. K. Venkataranga Raju, J.O.R. 1933, Oct., Dec. 1933.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] J.O.R., p. 24, Jan.-March 1934.

Āḷuruṭṭi-malai as their place of worship and study. It was perhaps with a view to remove the Jains from this attractive hill that the Śaiva devotees and the Viṣṇu-bhaktas of the time of Nṛpatunga excavated the two caves on this very hill. It is not unlikely that the Śamaṇas abandoned this hill after the excavation of these caves and confined themselves to the Āḷuruṭṭi hill.

The Āḷuruṭṭi-malai[28] (man-hurling-hill) 'is an elongated rock with a continuous steep inclination on one side and a sheer drop over a hundred feet high on the other. There is a natural cavern on the rock with a Jaina figure beautiful but broken.' Outside this cave, cut in the cleft of an over-hanging boulder there are two Jaina images of Tīrthankaras under triple umbrellas and attended by their śiṣyas.

To the east of the cavern is a damaged inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva mentioning the name of a Jain preceptor (Kana) kuca(u) Paṇḍitar and his pupil 'Dharmadēva Ācārya.'[29] Another inscription of the twenty-seventh year of Kulōttuṅga III refers to a shrine of Aruha Dēvar on the Tirumāṇai-malai.[30] There is no doubt that this is the Jain temple on the Āḷuruṭṭi malai. According to the Pudukkoṭṭah Manual "another inscription mentions the Tirumāṉ Malai as a double hill on which two Jaina monasteries were founded in consequence of which the two rocks were renamed 'Vaḍa Tirupaḷḷi-malai' (Northern-sacred-Jaina hill) and 'Ten Tiru-Paḷḷi-Malai' (Southern sacred-Jaina hill). According to a third inscription, lands were assigned in Koṟṟamangalam in Śāka 1175 (1253 A.D.) by Tribhuvanacakravarti for the support of two monasteries on the hill and there is a fourth inscription which apportions the produce of the lands between the Northern and Southern Institutions in the ratio of two to one; which leads us to infer that the northern foundation was perhaps the earlier or the more important of the two."[31]

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[28] "The Āḷuruṭṭi-malai or 'Man-rolling hill' obtained its name from the practice adopted in former times of executing criminals by rolling them over the great precipice on the south side of the hill. The hill is about 400 feet in height and the upper part of the great south scarp overhangs slightly." —'Pudukkoṭṭah History', p. 8, foot-note.

[29] I cannot find this inscription in the texts of the Pudukkoṭṭah Inscriptions though I saw a facsimile of it in the Museum of the Pudukkoṭṭah State when I visited the place.

[30] No. 158 in the 'Pudukkoṭṭah Inscriptions', "Tirumāṇai Malai Aruhadēvar."

[31] *Pudukkoṭṭah Manual*, p. 506.

Apart from these later epigraphical evidences, the natural caverns and the Jaina remains on the Mēl-malai and on the Āḷuruṭṭi-malai are sufficient evidence that these two hills were centres of Jain culture from the time of the Pallavas, if not earlier.

Some general remarks about Jain Scholars

Long before the Pallava sway extended over South India, the Jain scholars had established their reputation there. They were well versed in Tamil, Prākṛt and Sanskrit.[32] The Nāyanārs tell us that the Jains were very fond of theological disputations and took pride in vanquishing in debates the leaders of other religious sects.[33] They denounced the Vēdas and roamed about in the hot sun carrying in their hands an umbrella, a mat and a peacock feather.[34]

In spite of the fact that the Jains ceased to be the favourites of the Pallava kings after the re-conversion of Mahēndravarman to Śaivism and in spite of the open denunciations of the Śaiva Nāyanārs, we do see that in parts of the Pallava kingdom Jain scholars flourished and made vehement attempts to spread their culture.

We saw that their place of study and worship was generally either the top of a hill (Śittannavāśal, Tēnīmalai, Nārttāmalai, etc.) or the sea-side (the Pāṭaliputra monastery was on the sea-side) or the banks of a river (Tirupparuttikkunṟam). They lived a simple and well-regulated life and were highly accomplished in their literature, both religious and secular. Towards the middle and end of the Pallava period we see that much of their time was spent in contending against the Śaiva community. They did once enjoy royal patronage and political influence in the Court and that was in the early years of Mahēndravarman's rule.

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[32] "Saṅgada Paṅgamāppāgadattoḍiraitturaitta" (Sambandar Ālavāy. "Māninērviḻi").

[33] "Pōdiyār piṇḍiyārenṟa appoyyarkaḷ vādināluraiyavai meyyalā." (Sambandar—"Mēlai Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi Padigam.").

[34] "Vēdavēḷviyai ṅindanai śeydulal—Ādamilliyamaṇoḍu" (Ālavāy padigam).

"Periyavāgiya kuḍaiyum pīliyum avaiveyiṟkaravā" (Maraikkāḍu Padigam).

CHAPTER XVI

MUSIC

An Age of Art

The artistic sentiment of an age may express itself in various ways—in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, in poetry and in the dance—very especially in music. That the Pallava Age was an age of art wherein all these different modes found visible expression is undeniable, and music which has always played an important part in the social life of the people of India received the greatest attention and royal patronage in this period of South Indian History.

The standard attained in one branch of art always suggests a corresponding development in the allied branches. The fresco-paintings on the walls of the cave at Śittannavāśal, depicting a few of the beautiful dancing poses described in Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, raise the presumption that the sister art of music had also attained the same standard; for, how can we conceive of dancing without music ? Further, the very fact that the figure of Naṭarāja is sculptured on the walls of the Pallava temples at their capital Kāñcī shows that the divinity in whom both dancing and music are combined (Nṛtta Mūrti and Nāda Mūrti) appealed to the artistic taste of the people.

The music of the Tēvārams

Those spontaneous outpourings of devotional hearts, the songs of Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramūrtti who flourished in this period are filled with music. The rhythm and melody of their verses are really the proper test of the musical talents of these poets. Besides, Appar beautifully expressed his taste for instrumental music when he sang that the shadow of Śiva's feet is as soothing as the pure music of the vīṇā.[1] His younger contemporary Sambandar and his

[1] Māśilvīṇaiyum mālaimadiyamum
Vīśutenṟalum vīngiḷavēnilum
Mūśuvaṇḍaṟai Poygaiyum pōnṟadē
Īśanendai iṇayaḍinīḻalē.

The mention of vīṇai in the Tēvāram shows that this musical instrument was practised in South India from very early days. An Inscription of Rājarāja (141 of 1900) registers a grant of land for the maintenance of a musician friend and companion Tirunīlakaṇṭhapāṇar were two master musicians in this period, the former as a talented vocalist and the latter as the most skilled in playing on the yāḻ.[2]

Ever since Tirunīlakaṇṭhapāṇar met Sambandar, the former resolved to spend the rest of his life in the company of the latter playing on his matchless yāḻ every song that his young master produced. The single instance of the failure of Tirunīlakaṇṭapāṇar to reproduce on his yaḻ a particular tune which Sambandar sang, a thrilling incident described in the *Periyapurāṇam*,[3] indicates the recognition by Tirunīlakaṇṭhapāṇar and all around of the superiority of vocal music over the instrumental.

The Tēvarams, as we know, were set to music, and are sung even to this day though many of the original tunes to which they were set are now almost forgotten.[4] It is interesting to find that the regular singing of the Tēvārams in Śiva temples, a practice still observed in many of the temples of South India, began as early as the days of the later Pallava kings. An inscription[5] of Nandivarman III in the Bīlvanāthēśvara temple at Tiruvallam records that provision was made for those who were to sing the Tiruppadigam i.e., the Tēvāram 'Tiruppadiyam pāḍuvāruḷḷiṭṭa palapaṇi śeyvārkku nellu nānūṟṟukkāḍiyum.'

Since this time, the singers of the Tēvārams formed a part of the temple organisation and a large number of Cōḷa records[6] register grants made for the singing of the Tiruppadigam and also the Tiruvāymoḻi hymns.

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who was to play on the vīṇā and a vocalist to accompany the player. They both had to exercise their art in the Tiṇḍīśvara temple (the present Tintriṇīśvara temple at Tiṇdivanam). The vīṇā must have been long in practice in South India in order to receive such recognition under the Cōḷas.

[2] The *Tiruvāśagam* distinguishes the vīṇai from the yāḻ as also the *Kalingattupparaṇi*. We also know that *Śilappadikāram* recognises four kinds of yāḻs, viz., pālai yāḻ, kuruñji yāḻ, maruda yāḻ, neydal yāḷ (Ref. Vaṭṭappālai). We do not know which of the four yāḻs was played by the friend of Sambandar. The *Tiruvāśagam*, in a single verse, mentions both the yāḻ and the vīṇai: "innisai vīṇaiyar yāḻinar orupāl"—Śaiva Siddhānta Edition, p. 87.

[3] Sambandamūrtti Purāṇam, V. V. 446-454.

[4] The different paṇs such as Paṇ Gāndāram, Paṇ Takkēśi, Paṇ Indalam, in which the Tēvārams were sung are evidently those that are described in *Śilappadikāram*.

[5] S.I.I., vol. III, part I, p. 95.

[6] 280 of 1917. 433 of 1903 records gift of land to a certain Rājarāja Piccan and his troupe for singing the Tiruppadigam hymns in the temple. 326 of 1906—provision made for the recitation of Tiruvāymoḻi of Nammāḻvār.

The music of the Nālāyiraprabandam

Of the songs of the Vaiṣṇava devotees collectively known as the 'Nālāyiraprabandam', the 'Periya Tirumoḻi' of Tirumangaimannan can be definitely assigned to the Pallava period. As a poetic composition consisting of devotional verses, the 'Periya Tirumoḻi' has as much of music in it as in the Tēvārams; however, I doubt if these verses or any of the verses of the Nālāyiraprabandam were ever sung in the same way as the Tēvārams were. From the way in which the 'Periya Tirumoḻi' and the 'Tiruvāymoḻi' are recited by the orthodox Vaiṣṇavas of to-day, I infer that the verses were always chanted, being confined only to the Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita Svarams.[7] This seems to be the result of the idea of the later Vaiṣṇava teachers to consider the compositions of the earlier Āḻvārs as equal to the Vēdas. Nādamuni describes the Tiruvāymoḻi as 'Drāviḍa Vēda Sāgaram.'[8]

The Birudas of some of the Pallava kings

The birudas of the Pallava kings were not altogether empty boasts. 'Mattavilāsa' was a surname of Mahēndravarman's[9] because he was the author of a Prahasana of that name. 'Vicitracitta'[10] and 'Citrakārapuli'[11] speak of the inventive genius and architectural skill of the monarch. It was quite fitting on the part of Rājasimha, the builder of the magnificent abodes for Śiva such as the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī and the lofty shrine on the seashore at Māmallapuram (the shore temple), to call himself 'Śiva Cūḍāmaṇi'[12] (Pl. I fig. 1 and Pl. V. fig. 9).

Such being the nature of the birudas assumed by the Pallava kings, we shall examine those that throw light on their musical talents.

The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao interpreted[13] the surname of Mahēndravarman, 'Sankīrṇa jātiḥ'[14] as 'Born of mixed caste'.

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[7] Nārada Śikṣā, verse 2—Also see Paṇini Śikṣā; except Sāmagānam which at a later stage was sung in all the seven notes, the other Vedic chants included only three notes.

[8] See also Anandāḻvan's reference to the same, 'Śendamiḻ Vēdam' and Bhaṭṭar's reference 'Tamiḻ maṟaigaḷ āyiram'.

[9] Found on the Pallāvaram cave and in the Māmaṇḍūr inscriptions.

[10] Maṇḍagappaṭṭu inscription. Ep. Ind. vol. XVII, page 17.

[11] "Conjeevaram inscriptions of Mahēndravarman"—Dubreuil.

[12] Found in the Panamālai inscription and in the inscription on the Balipīṭha of the shore of the temple.

[13] Ep. Ind. vol. XVII, p. 16.

[14] Found in the Pallāvaram and Trichinopoly caves.

Granting, for argument's sake, that Mahēndravarman was of a mixed descent, it is against the nature of man to make mention of it in a stone inscription, and much less should our suspicion be roused in the case of Mahēndra whose parentage from the mother's side is not known to us. Therefore, I am inclined to accept the other interpretation offered by Mr. Krishna Śāstri that Sankīrṇajāti is the name of a variety of musical time, and Mahēndravarman held it because he was an inventor of this type of tāḷa. It is no wonder that having been one of the greatest musicians of South India, as we shall see, he was also a master of tāḷa. The well-known tāḷa Jātis are only five, namely, caturaśra, tisra, miśra, khaṇḍa and sankīrṇa; and of these, the last one is that which concerns us. The earliest treatises on tāḷa such as the '*Tāḷalakṣaṇa*'[15] of Nandikēśvara emphasise only the first four Jātis as common. Moreover the *Markaṇḍēya Purāṇa*[16] speaks of four Jātis alone. Therefore, we may safely assume that the last one sankīrṇa was a later invention and probably that of King Mahēndravarman. The following table will give an idea of how the variety of tāḷas are fitted under the five tāḷa Jātis and what place the sankīrṇa occupies.

Name of tāḷa.	Name of Jāti.				
	Caturaśra.	Tisra.	Miśra.	Khaṇḍa.	Sankīrṇa.
Dhruva	4, 2, 4, 4	3, 3, 3, 3	7, 2, 5, 5	5, 2, 5, 5	9, 2, 9, 9
Matsya	4, 2, 4	3, 2, 3	7, 2, 7	5, 2, 5	9, 2, 9
Rūpaka	4, 2	3, 2	7, 2	5, 2	9, 2
Jampa	4, 1, 2	3, 1, 2	7, 1, 2	5, 1, 2	9, 1, 2
Tripuṭa	4, 2, 2	3, 2, 2	7, 2, 2	5, 2, 2	9, 2, 2
Aṭatāḷa	4, 4, 2, 2	3, 3, 2, 2	7, 7, 2, 2	5, 5, 2, 2	9, 9, 2, 2
Ēkatāḷa	4	3	7	5	6

On the same Pallāvaram cave and next to Sankīrṇa Jātiḥ is inscribed another surname of the same king which reads 'Pravṛttamātraḥ.' Certain words preceding the phrase 'Prakaraṇa Pravṛttamātraḥ' are missing. The epigraphists have wrongly read

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[15] The Tanjore Library has a manuscript of this work, No. 60. This Nandikēśvara is possibly the same as the Nandikēśvara quoted by Rājaśēkhara in his "Kāvyamīmāmsā" and also by Abhinavagupta.

[16] 'Caturvidham param tāḷam'—Ch. XXI, v. 54.

Prakarṇa into Prakarēṇa.[17] One of the meanings of Karaṇam is " a kind of rhythmical pause or beat of the hands to keep time ".[18]

This is supported by a verse in *Kumāra Sambhava* where the word is used in this sense :—

> "Śikharāsaktamēghānām vyajyantē yatra vēśmanām
> Anugarjitasamdigdhaḥ karaṇairmurajasvanaḥ ".[19]

The prefix 'pra' before 'karaṇa' is used here in the sense of length;[20] so prakaraṇa would then mean 'the length of the beat.' Whatever the missing words may be, 'Prakaraṇa pravṛtta mātraḥ' in the light of our interpretation of Sankīrṇajātiḥ going before, clearly signifies that Mahēndravarman had systematised in a certain manner the mātras pertaining to the tāḷa or tāḷas.

Mahēndravarman's grandson Rājasimha, was also an accomplished musician as is known from his surnames.[21] He is praised as Śrī Vādyavidyādharaḥ',[22] 'a Vidyādhara on the instrument;' 'Śrī ātōdya Tumburuḥ', 'a Tumburu on the ātōdya', and 'Śrī vīṇā Nāradaḥ,' 'a Nārada on the vīṇā.' The surname 'Ātōdya Tumburuḥ' is interesting. Ātōdya is a generic name denoting the four kinds of instruments,[23] namely, vīṇā, muraja (drum), vamśa (flute) and ṭāḷa (cymbals).

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[17] I have examined carefully the original impression of the inscription furnished by the Madras Epigraphy Office, and I am convinced that the correct reading is 'Prakaṛana Pravṛtta Mātraḥ'.

[18] Apte gives the meaning for 'Prakaraṇa' as a rhythmical pause or beat of the hand to keep time. Ref. his Sanskrit dictionary.

[19] Mallinātha comments :—"Karaṇaiḥ tāḷa vyavasthāpākaiḥ tāḍanaviśēṣaiḥ."

Rājakandarpa, an author of a musical treatise, defines Karaṇa thus :—

Karaṇaiḥ : Vādya tāḍanavicchēdaiḥ ;

" Nṛttavāditragītānām; Prayōgavaśabhēdinam; Saṃsthānā tāḍanam tāḷam; Karaṇāni pracakṣatē."

Arunagirinātha defines 'Karaṇa': Karaṇaiḥ : Vādyatāḍanaviccēdaiḥ viśēṣaiḥ tāḷaiḥ iti arthaḥ. Yathōktam Saṅgīta śāstre Nṛtta, etc.

[20] 'Pra' with nouns whether derived from verbs or not, is used in the following senses according to "Gaṇaratnamahōdadhi" of Vardhamāna—(a) length, etc. (Owing to the gap preceding 'pra', the interpretation offered here must be considered rather doubtful.—K.A.N.)

[21] These are found round the enclosure of the Rājasimhēśvara temple, Kāñcī. S.I.I., vol. I, page 15.

[22] S.I.I., vol. I, p. 17. Dr. Hultzsch translates this as " he who possesses the knowledge of musical instruments." This is not correct.

[23] Amarakōśa—Nāṭyavarga, verses 4 and 5.

Ātōdya has also been referred to in a restricted sense to mean a vīṇā,[24] and since Rājasimha is here compared to Tumburu and the latter's instrument was a vīṇā, we may take it that the Pallava king was as skilled on the vīṇā (Ātōdya) as Tumburu on the Kaḷāvati.[25] In fact, Rājasimha must have been highly proficient on the vīṇā to have become the subject of such comparisons.

The Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription throws light on the science of music of the period.

More than the birudas of Mahēndravarman and his successors, that which interests a student of Pallava history so far as music is concerned is the famous Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription assigned by scholars to the time of Mahēndravarman, a study of which will enable us to acquaint ourselves with the scientific side of the music of the period to which it belongs.

Facsimile and Text published.

The existence of the inscription was discovered in 1904 and with the help of the estampages supplied by Rao Sahib H. Krishna Śāstri, Rao Bahadur P. R. Bhandārkar edited it in *Epigraphia Indica,* Volume XII. The Text alone is published in the Inscriptions of the Pudukoṭṭai State.

The location of the inscription.

Facing east on the slope of the rock behind the Śikhānāthasvāmi temple,[26] on the right side of the cave temple called the Mēlakkōvil[27] and between two rock-cut Gaṇēśas, one a Valampuri and the other an Iḍaipuri, both probably of Pallava origin, is engraved the inscription occupying a space of about 13 feet by 14 feet. It is unfortunate that the wall and the basement of the maṇḍapa[28] constructed in front of the Mēlakkōvil have hidden a few of the notes of the last sections of the inscription including the bas-relief sculpture of the Valampuri Gaṇēśa. However, excepting these hidden portions, it is a marvel to see the entire inscription in such a good state of preservation. The very choice of the place, the wide space which the inscription occupies on the slope of the hill and the careful engraving—neat, legible and uniform—on the hard rock suggest no ordinary purpose.

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[24] *Raghuvamśa* VIII, 34, XV, 88. See also *Uttararāmacarita* 7 and *Vēṇi Samhāra* I.

[25] Amarakōśa, Part I, Nāṭyavarga, verse 3, Commentary.

[26] The Epigraphical name "Sikhānallūr" (the good place of Śikhā or the hair-tuft) and the latter name "Kuḍumiyāmalai" (a hill of the kuḍumi or the hair-tuft) were derived from the name of the god of the Sikhānallūr temple. The presence of the tuft on the head of the Linga which I was able to witness when I visited Kuḍumiyāmalai is explained by a local tradition, vide *Pudukkoṭṭai Manual,* page 493. The architectural style of the Śikhānāthar temple decides its age to be not earlier than the 11th century A.D. Hence, the Mēlakkōvil is the earliest Śiva temple in the place.

[27] The cave temple must have been called Mēlakkōvil because it is on the western side of the Śikhānāthar temple.

The characters of the inscriptions.

Dr. Bhandarkar remarks[29] :—"The characters seem to belong to the 7th century. They clearly resemble those of the early Cāḷukya period.[30] In particular, it may be noted that the letter *e*, as in Pallava inscriptions of this period, is almost identical with *ba*. Other peculiarities to be noted are: (1) the use of a small *ma* below the line to indicate a final *m* in the first line of the heading of section 1; (2) the two dots of the visarga are sometimes joined by a line and (3) the *ā* mātrā of *hā* is represented by a stroke above and not to right of *ha*."

An independent examination[31] of the characters of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription shows that they very closely resemble the Pallava script of the 7th century A.D. The formation of the letters compares well with that of Mahēndravarman's inscriptions at Trichinopoly and South Arcot, and we may therefore assign the Pudukkoṭṭai inscription of Mahēndra to the same period as the Trichinopoly inscription.

The divisions of the inscription.

After a salutation to Śiva—'Siddham Namaḥ Śivāya'—the inscription is arranged in seven sections; each section has several sub-sections and each sub-section throughout has sixteen sets of four svaras each. The combinations of four svaras in each of the seven sections are arranged under a specific heading mentioned in order as follows: (1) Madhyama Grāmē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāh", (2) "Ṣadja Grāmē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ"; (3) "Ṣāḍavē Catuṣpraharā Svarāgamāḥ"; (4) "Sādhāritē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ"; (5) "Pañcamē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ"; (6) "Kaiśika Madhyamē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ"; (7) "Kaiśikē Catuṣprahāra Svarāgamāḥ". On the extreme right end of the bottom of the inscription is a colophon which reads:—"Rudrācārya śiṣyēṇa parama mahēśvarēṇa rajñā śiṣyahitārtham kṛtāḥ svarāgamaḥ" i.e., "Svarāgamās made for the benefit of the disciples by the king, a Mahēśvara and a disciple of Rudrācārya."

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[28] The maṇḍapa of cut stone is a later addition.

[29] Ep. Ind. XII, p. 227.

[30] I fail to see why Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that the characters are Cāḷukyan.

[31] The characters of the Trichinopoly Inscription may be compared with that of Kuḍumiyāmalai.

Just below the colophon, an important and informing note in Tamil characters of about the same period is added on. This tells us that they are intended (evidently the musical notes) for the eight and seven—"Eṭṭiṟkum ēḻiṟkum ivai uriya".

Authorship of the Kuḍumiyāmalai music.

For the present, without going into the science and technique involved in the Kuḍumiyāmalai music, we shall turn our attention to its authorship. Dr. Bhandārkar, though he fixed the age of the inscription as the 7th century, does not discuss its authorship. However, scholars in Pallava history[32] have ascribed it to Mahēndravarman on the ground that he was a lover of music. It is our purpose now to examine if any positive evidence could be discovered in support of this proposition.

As we have seen, paleography presents no difficulty in assigning the inscription to Mahēndravarman and there is no doubt that Trichinopoly and Pudukkoṭṭai were included within his dominions. Now, in the colophon it is stated that the musical notes were inscribed at the instance of a king, a mahēśvara, and this accomplished Śaiva monarch could have been no other than the Pallava Mahēndravarman I whom we have already credited with the invention of a tāḷa Jāti.

His craze for music and his taste for nṛttam, tāḷam and layam are also revealed through his own characters and descriptions in his farce "*Mattavilāsa*". One cannot doubt that it is Mahēndra who is the 'Sangīta Dhana' when the Sūtradhāra of the play says:[33] "Aham tu samprati sangīta dhanaḥ" "Now music is my wealth". Thus would the king describe the Tippler's merry dances—"Mattavilāsa Nṛttam":—"Ah! how good to look at are the Tippler's merry dances! They are accompanied by the rhythm of beaten drums and show diverse modulations of gesture and speech and brows, while upper robes are clasped by one uplifted hand, and the music's time falls out of measure for a moment as they put back into place downward-slipping garments, and neck strings, are disordered ".[34]

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[32] "Pallavas"—Dubreuil, p. 39.

[33] Text—p. 4.

This description and the immediate reply of Dēvasōmā[35] " ahō rasikaḥ khalu ācāryaḥ " though full of sarcasm in the context, still give us an insight into the aesthetics of the royal author who was undoubtedly a rasika, a fact which is confirmed by the Māmaṇḍūr inscription.

The reference to " Urvaśī sarva śōbhanā "[36]—Urvaśī of all-round splendour'—and to ' Gandharva Śāstram '—the science of Gandharvas, i.e., music in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription of Guṇabhara *alias* Mahēndravarman strengthens our conclusion that the king was an adept in music. The inscription also records his literary achievements, but it is disappointing to note that the portion which speaks of music in detail is very much damaged. However, from what I am able to make out from the broken sentences, I have no hestitation in stating that herein the king has recorded his composition of the Kuḍumiyāmalai music and his experiments with it on an instrument as the following text and translation will prove :—

> " (raca) yitvā yathā vidhi......ca......
> vividhaiḥ kṛtvā varṇa caturtham aprāptapūrvam
> nirveṣṭum vādyaśravaṇaih..kṛtavatīiva......." [37]

" Having compiled according to rules and having made combinations (of svaras) in various kinds in fours....to hear this unique composition played on an instrument...... ". The combinations of four svaras is clearly a reference to the groupings of catussvaras in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription. The phrase " aprāptapūrvam " suggests that Mahēndravarman had exercised a great deal of originality in the permutations and combinations of these svaras in fours. ' Vādyaśravaṇaiḥ ' indicates that the author, after having conceived the music of his composition in his mind, tested it on an instrument.

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[34] " ahō Darśanīyāni prahata-mardaḷakaraṇānugatāni
vividhāngahāravacanabhrūvikārāṇi
ucchritaikahastāvalambitōttarīyāṇi vigaḷitavasana
pratisamādhānakṣaṇaviṣamitalayāni
vyākulitakaṇṭhaguṇāni mattavilāsanṛttāni."

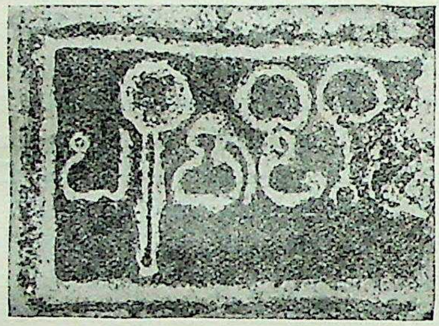
[35] Dēvasōmā is Satyasōma's wench. Text, p. 9

[36] S.I.I., vol. IV, No. 38 of 88, line 5.

[37] S.I.I., vol. IV, p. 12, lines 11 to 13.

Mahēndravarman experimented the music on the 'Parivādinī'.

It now remains for us to discover on what instrument he made the experiment and on what instrument he intended the śiṣyas to practise the music. Dr. Bhandārkar only guessed that it must be the vīṇā;[38] he remarks " the music of the inscription appears to be intended for the vīṇā since it has been given the title catuṣprahāra svarāgamāḥ, or authoritative texts of notes produced by four strikings (of the string) ".



PARIVADINI.

A tiny label[39] inscribed on the top of the Valampuri Gaṇēśa at Kuḍumiyāmalai sculptured on the northern side of the music inscription has enabled me not only to confirm the happy guess of Dr. Bhandārkar but also to prove on what particular kind of vīṇā Mahēndravarman experimented with his musical notes. There is no difficulty in reading the label as 'Parivādinī' as it is written in the same bold characters[40] as the main inscription.

About 'Parivādinī' the Amarakōśa[41] says :—'Vīṇā tu vallakī vipañcī sātu tantrībhiḥ saptabhiḥ parivādinī'—and the commentary explains it as 'vīṇā vallakī vipañcī ṭrayam viṇāyāh sā vīṇā tu saptabiḥ tantribhiḥ upalakṣitā parivādinī, i.e., the three names vīṇā, vallakī and vipañcī denote a vīṇā but that which has seven strings is called "parivādinī."[42] The *Buddha carita* of Aśvaghōṣa furnishes a few more interesting points about 'Parivādinī', viz., that it is a big vīṇa and that its strings are made of gold:—"and another damsel lay sound asleep, embracing her big lute as if it were a female friend and rolled it about, while its golden strings trembled, with her face bright, with her shaken ear-rings."[43]

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[38] Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. 228.

[39] I came across this label during my visit but it had already been noticed by the Epigraphists in the state but nobody so far thought that it had anything to do with the musical inscription. This is undoubtedly owing to the fact that the wall of the maṇḍapa constructed in front of the Mēlakkōvil has separated the label from the main inscription.

[40] I have with me an estampage of this label, and I have reproduced it in the text.

[41] Amarakōśa Nāṭyavarga, verse 2 and the commentary.

It is only now that we realise the full significance of the label which informs us that Mahēndravarman's instrument was the 'parivādinī'.

Eṭṭiṟkum ēḻiṟkum ivai uriya.

But he was not content with this. After trying his notes on the seven-stringed vīṇā, he discovered the possibility of playing the same on the eight-stringed also and he succeeded; hence he was induced to add the post-script in Tamil below the colophon and tell the future students of music that the svaras could be practised both on the eight as well as on the seven-stringed vīṇās—'eṭṭiṟkum ēḻiṟkum ivai uriya'. We need not question whether an eight-stringed vīṇā was ever known to have existed. If Aḍiyārkkunallār[44] could tell us that the four kinds of Yāḻs mentioned in the *Śīlappadikāram* as current in South India were pēriyāḻ, magarayāḻ, sagōṭayāḻ and śengōṭṭiyāḻ and that they had respectively 21, 17, 16 and 7 strings, and if the *Sangīta Ratnākara*[45] could definitely state that there were vīṇas with a single string (Ēkatantrīvīṇā), two strings (Nakula), 7 strings, 9 strings and 21 strings, we may safely believe that the inscription mentions an eight-stringed vīṇā in the time of Mahēndravarman.

The Tirumayyam music inscription.

Just as in Kuḍumiyāmalai, we have on the slope of the rock to the right of the Śiva rock-cut cave at Tirumayyam (fourteen miles south of Pudukkoṭṭai town) another music inscription which was first discovered by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao who remarks "The Tirumayyam cave also contained a musical treatise similar to the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription. It is engraved on the wall of the shrine to Śiva. A very late Pāṇḍya king has erased a portion of the inscription stating that it is in an unintelligible script and has engraved thereon a useless inscription of his recording perhaps a gift of a few coins. He did not know what serious damage he was doing to an invaluable inscription. The fragments that are available now read here and there—Ṣa (dja), Gāndhāram, Dhaiva (ta)—terms of Indian music, written in the same characters as the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription".[46]

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[42] Kālidāsa speaks of the 'Parivādinī': "Brahmaraiḥ kusumānusāribhiḥ parikīrṇā parivādinī munēḥ; Dadṛśē pavanāvalepajam sṛjati bāṣpa mivāñjanāvilam." (*Raghuvamśa* VIII, 35.)

[43] *Buddha carita*, Bk. 5, v. 55. See the translation in "The sacred books of the East"—Max Muller.

[44] *Śilappadikāram*, Aṛangēṟṟukādai, commentary on line No. 26.

[45] *Sangīta Ratnākara*, Part II, p. 480 and also page 520 et seq.

Not a duplicate of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription.

The fact that the script of the Tirumayyam inscription is identical with that of the Kuḍumiyāmalai one, may induce us to consider the one as a duplicate of the other, but a very careful examination[47] of the inscription on the Tirumayyam rock proves that at the extreme ends of the superimposed Tamil inscription, we see distinctly combinations of Svaras. They are not the uniform combinations of Catussvaras as in Kuḍumiyāmalai but instead exhibit a variety of combinations, three, two, four etc., and with irregular spacings between them: therefore, we cannot take this to be a duplicate of the Kuḍumiyāmalai groupings; at the same time we cannot assert anything more, for the main part of the inscription has been erased.

Labels of instruction on the Tirumayyam rock.

Still, this is not all that Tirumayyam can give us about music. As in Kuḍumiyāmalai there are by the side of the music inscription, labels, not one, but several which are more interesting than the erased inscription itself. We shall first make a list of these labels and then study them.

(1) On the left side (proper) of the erased inscription:
"Parivādinīdā".

(2) Below the above label:
"Kaṟkkappaḍuvadu kāṇ......
Ncolliya pukiṟparukkum nimi
Mukkanniruvattukkum urittu".

(3) To the left of the above is written:
"Guṇasēna pramāṇañ
jeyda vidyā parivādinī kaṟ (ka)".

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[46] I.A., LII, p. 47.

[47] I examined this inscription during my visit to the place on 27-5-32. After washing the surface I was able to identify some of the svara combinations clearly.

(4) On the rock to the north of the cave temple:
"Parivādinīdā".

(5) Below the above label:
"....Ñcolliya pukirparukkum eṇṇa
....Nemi mukkanniruvattukkum
....ppiyam".

Of these labels the fourth and the fifth seem to be duplicates of the first and the second. The labels "parivādinīdā" are written in Pallava Grantha characters and the others in Tamil characters of the same period. The second and the fifth are only in fragments.

The Tirumayyam notations and Parivādinī

The labels first, third and fourth speak of the Parivādinī to which we have already referred. The force of the letter *dā* occurring here after 'Parivādinī' is puzzling and there is no possibility of any letters having disappeared at the end of *dā* for the labels are enclosed within four lines. Under these circumstances, we can only make a tentative suggestion that *dā* might have been added to mean 'to apply or to give'. Taking this, in combination with the corresponding Tamil term 'Parivādinī kaṟka' which is quite instructive by itself, we need hardly doubt that the Tirumayyam notations were also meant to be practised on the same Parivādinī.

The notations in relation to the three aspects of Gāndharvavidyā

It did not suffice for the author of these notations to stop with instrumental music. He seems to have combined these svaras in a way as to give effect to such a music as would serve all the three aspects of the Gāndharva vidyā, viz., gītam, vādyam, and nṛttam.[48] It is in this sense that I understand the phrase 'mukkanniruvattukkum (ivai) urittu' found in the second and fourth labels. The word 'nemi' which is really 'nēmi' might have been used to mean 'the earth' in which case the whole phrase 'nemimukkanniruvattukkum ivai urittu' when translated would mean; (this music) can be utilised for the three (branches) of Gāndharva vidyā (as prevalent or known) on earth.

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[48] "Gītam vādyam ca nṛttam ca trayam saṅgītamucyate." This is borne out by the earliest literature on music which treats of vocal music, instrumental music and dance.

The phrase 'pukiṟparukkum' in labels two and four is unintelligible. One wonders if it is a corruption or has anything to do with 'pugalvar,' from 'pugal', meaning 'mode of singing.' But since the label is fragmentary, I cannot venture any interpretation of it.

The author of Tirumayyam music

From the facts that Tirumayyam is not very far away from Kuḍumiyāmalai, that the inscriptions in both places are written in the same characters, that both are inscribed on the slopes of rocks by the right side of rock-cut Śiva temples and that both have labels referring to the same musical instrument, we may assert that the author of the two inscriptions is one and the same individual. But this is not all. Label No. 3 which should be read as :

> "Guṇasēna pramāṇañ
> jeyda vidyā, parivādinī kaṟka."

a label which is complete in itself, informs us that the vidyā, viz., the knowledge of music (pramāṇam śeyda) established and confirmed by Guṇasēna, should be played (kaṟka) on the parivādinī. We have already concluded that Mahēndravarman was the author of the Kuḍumiyāmalai music and the name Guṇasēna here seems to refer to no one else but to our king who was variously called Guṇabhara and Guṇadhara.[49]

Rudrācārya, the music master of Mahēndravarman

We have noticed that in the colophon to the music inscription the king professes himself a student (śiṣya) of Rudrācārya. Of Rudrācārya Venkayya remarks:[50] "As regards his preceptor it is worthy of note that his namesake was the father of Nṛsimhasūri, the author of 'Svaramañjarī', an elementary treatise on Vedic accents. But as the time when the latter lived is not known, we cannot be sure if the two Rudrācāryas are identical or not." They are not identical, for the 'Svaramañjarī' turns out to be a comparatively late work.[51]

Editing the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription, Dr. Bhandārkar said:[52] "This treatise, according to the colophon, was composed by some king who was the pupil of Rudrācārya. It is impossible to say whether this Rudrācārya be the same as Rudraṭa mentioned by

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[49] *Periya purāṇam*—Tiruṇāvukkarasu Nāyanār purānam : verse 146. Guṇabhara is found in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription of Mahēndravarman.

[50] Madras Ep. Rep. 1905.

[51] See Note.

[52] Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. 231.

Matanga." Now, we know that Matanga the author of the Bṛhaddēśī was considered an authority on music and was quoted by authors who flourished between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. Matanga was a specialist on the flute and a popular story connected with his excellence on the instrument is referred to by Abinavagupta who flourished in the 10th century A.D.[53]

Abhinava also quotes Matanga in two places.[54] Again, Jayasimha (c. 1253 A.D.) in his work "Nāṭyaratnāvaḷi"[55] mentions the Vādyādhayāya of Matanga's Bṛhaddēśī, and Śārṅgadēva and his commentators refer to Matanga as an ancient author. These references make it clear that Matanga must be assigned to a date not later than the 9th century A.D. Further, Rudraṭa is cited by Kallinātha, the commentator on *Sangīta Ratnākara,* once independently and again as having been quoted by Matanga : "Yathā yāvat ṣadjamēva tāragatiḥ madhyamasyāpyatra samvāditvāt anaśitvāt tāragatiḥ Rudraṭēna kṛtā madhyamasyēti Matangōktam."[56] Thus Rudraṭa who is quoted by Matanga, must have lived earlier than the 9th century A.D.[57] Abhinavagupta criticises a music master by name Rudraṭa as having written without understanding Bharata.[58] And we know Abhinavagupta flourished in the 10th century A.D.

These references clearly indicate that Rudraṭa was an early authority on music[59] and flourished probably in the seventh century and may be identified with the great music master of Mahēndravarman, Rudrācārya.

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53. Suṣirādhyāya, vol. IV, p. 58.
"Pūrvam Bhagavan Mahēśvarārādhanam Matangamuni-Prabṛtibhiḥ vēṇumitam tatō vamśa iti prasiddaḥ."

54. Vol. IV, pp. 59 & 67, Madras Manuscript.

55. Tanjore Library.

56. "*Sangīta Ratnākara*", p. 82.

57. Śārngadēva mentions Bhōja only after Rudraṭa: "Rudraṭō Nānyabhūpalō bhōja bhūvallabhāstathā." It is evident that Rudraṭa belonged to a date long anterior to Bhōja.

58. "Rudraka (ṭā) dibhiḥ tu ētamartham bu (abu) dhyamānaiḥ uktānām ślōkapathavipralabdhaiḥ sarvatraiva aṣṭakalasya"—vol. IV, p. 160.

59. Other Rudraṭas are known ; but they do not concern us.

NOTE I.—The date of Nṛsimhasūri

With the hope of getting at the approximate date of Nṛsimhasūri, I consulted all the manuscripts of the work in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library. There are altogether four manuscripts, two of which (one in Nāgari characters, and the other in Grantha) are entitled "Svaramañjarī", and the other two (both in Grantha) bear the name "Svaramanōjñamañjarī." A persual of these works made it clear that "Svaramanōjñamanjarī" is only a continuation of the work "Svaramañjarī." In all these manuscripts, the author Nṛsimhasūri describes himself as the son of Rudrārya. One of the manuscripts of Svaramanojñamañjarī contains a commentary which gives us many details. The commentary is called " Parimaḷa " and the commentator describes himself as Śrī Girināthasūri, son of Mallinātha of Kolācala family. He also adds that he was a pupil of Nṛsimhasūri, the author of the original work. About Rudrārya the commentary says Rudra ityāryo Brāhmaṇaḥ śrēṣṭhōvā āryō Vipra-kulīnayōrityabhidhānāt visēṣaṇa samāsaḥ tasya sūnuḥ Narasimha Sūriḥ ".

Now, we know that Girinātha was a pupil of Nṛsimha Sūri and therefore, his contemporary. Then, Mallinātha, the father of Girinātha, and Rudrārya, the father of Nṛsimhasūri, should also have been contemporaries ; if so, to what period should they be assigned ? There are more than one Mallinātha in the literary field, but the Mallinātha under reference seems to be the same as the famous scholar and commentator on the five well-known Mahākāvyas.

This identification is based on two facts, namely, that our Mallinātha belongs to the Kolācala family, that of the famous commentator, and that the introductory verse in the " Parimaḷa ", that is, " Vāṇīm kāṇabhujīm " etc., is the characteristic verse of the same commentator. It is quite natural for the son Girinātha to copy his father. It follows then that Nṛsimhasūri and his pupil commentator must have lived about the fifteenth century A.D. for the date of Mallinātha who is also well-known as the author of the Taraḷā, commentary on the Ēkāvaḷī, has been fixed as the end of the fourteenth century, by Bhandārkar and Trivēdi[60].

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[60] (a) Bhandārkar—Rep. 1887-91—p. 69. Trivēdi—Intr. to Bhaṭṭi, pp. 24-28 ; Intr. to Ēkāvali, p. 28. (b) Internal evidences in the text of the Ēkāvali assign it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th centuries, and Mallinātha must have written his commentary after

Therefore, Rudrārya, the father of Nṛsimhasūri, and the contemporary of Mallinātha, must be placed in the fourteenth century. Thus Rudracārya, the master of Mahēndravarman who ruled in the seventh century, cannot be identified with Rudrārya the father of Nṛsimhasūri.

Note J.—List of Musical Instruments mentioned in the Tēvāram. (References are to the Śaiva Siddhanta Samājam Ed.)

1. Vīṇai pp. 12, 13, 17, 53, 102, 163 & 164. (Appar).
2. Yāl̲ pp. 48, 130, 157, (Appar).
3. Kinnari (or Kinnaram), pp. 46. 53, 54, 69. (Appar).
4. Kul̲al p. 106, 180 (Sambandar).
5. Kokkari (śangu), pp. 102, 163. (Appar).
6. Jarjari (a kind of drum or cymbals—Jallari).
7. Thakkai (Pambai-Thakkam-Dakka), pp. 163 and Śilappadikaram, Canto 3, line 27, p. 86.
8. Mul̲avam, pp. 157, 163, 139, 134, 105, 12.
9. Mondai, pp. 163, 71, (Sambandar).
10. Mridangam, p. 332, (Sambandar).
11. Mardala, p. 244, (Appar).
12. Ḍamaru, p. 242, (Appar).
13. Dundibi (Berikai, Nagara and Murasu), p. 95 (Sundarar).
14. Kuḍamul̲ā, p. 95 (Sundarar).
15. Tattalakam (a kind of drum), p. 95 (Sundarar).
16. Muraśu, p. 583, (Sambandar).
17. Uḍukkai, p. 583, (Sambandar).
18. Tālam, p. 18, (Sambandar).
19. Tuḍi, p. 163, (Appar).
20. Koḍukoṭṭi, p. 95, (Sundarar), p. 163 (Appar).

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a certain time had elapsed from the composition of the original text, for from Ślōka 6, it is evident that the Ēkāvalī was not studied for some time because it had no commentaries.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TECHNIQUE OF THE MUSIC

THE SEVEN SECTIONS OF THE KUDUMIYAMALAI MUSIC

What they indicate.

As we have already observed, each of the seven sections of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription is arranged in several sub-sections of sixteen sets of "four svaras" each under a heading individually ascribed. The editor of this inscription says that the seven sections correspond to the seven *classical* Rāgas of the time; but however, he does not assign convincing reasons for his assertion.[1] On the other hand, there are sufficient indications for considering the seven sections as representing not the permutations and combinations of svaras of Rāgas but of grāmas and jātis which are some of the fundamental principles of South Indian music. Enumerated below are points which serve to substantiate the statement made above.

(1) There is no mention whatsoever of the term "Rāga" in the Kuḍumiyāmalai music. It only speaks of texts of svaras arranged in fours:—"Catuṣprahāra svarāgamāḥ". Moreover, the titles of these sections are "Madhyamagrāma," "Ṣadjagrāma," "Ṣāḍava", "Sādhārita", "Pañcama", "Kaiśika Madhyama" and "Kaiśika" respectively, and *not* "Madyamagrāma Rāga", "Ṣadjagrāma Rāga", etc.[2]

(2) The presence of "Madhyama Grāma" and "Ṣadja Grāma" in the inscription and the significant absence of the third, namely, the "Gāndhāra" emphatically stamp the first two as the time-honoured and well-known Grāmas of classical literature on music, and not "Rāgas" known by those names. It is an established tenet that the "Gāndhāra Grāma" is beyond human practice and is confined to the Indra Loka. From a study of the two works on music, the "Nārada Śikṣā" and the "Ratnākara", on which Dr. Bhandarkar depends for the interpretation of our inscription, it is obvious that the editor proceeds on a false assumption in his comparison of the Madhyama Grāma and

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[1] Ep. Ind., vol. 12, pp. 227-228.

[2] "Svarāgamāḥ" appearing as the heading of each of the seven sections, considered along with the phrase "Samāptāḥ svarāgamāḥ" in the colophon, definitely points to the emphasis laid on the "Text of Svaras" composed by the author. Bhandarkar himself interpreted "Svara āgamāḥ" as "authoritative text of notes."

Ṣadja Grāma of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription as Rāgas, with those discussed in the two works concerned. No doubt the two works refer to Madhyama Grāma Rāga and Ṣadja Grāma Rāga,[3] but when they do so, they discuss not the characteristics of *the* "Madhyama Grāma Rāga" or *the* "Ṣadja Grāma Rāga" each representing by itself a particular melody or Rāga, but the characteristics of a "Madhyama Grāma Rāga" or a "Ṣadja Grāma Rāga" as illustrative of the features of the Grāma to which they individually pertain. All the treatises and books on Music from the earliest to the most modern, treat of a Grāma as a group and not as an individual Rāga.

(3) The *Bhāratīya Nāṭya Śāstra,* which certainly dates earlier than our inscription, speaks of the two Grāmas and the five Jātis dealt with in this inscription.We have no grounds to doubt the authenticity of the verse quoted by Kallinātha from Bharata, for the text of the Nāṭya Śāstra we have at present is by no means complete.

According to Kallinātha, Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* contained the following verse:

"Mukhe tu Madhyamagrāmaḥ ṣadjaḥ pratimukhe tathā
Garbhe sādhāritaś-c-aiva hy-avamarṣe tu pañcamaḥ :
Samhāre Kaiśikaḥ proktaḥ purvarange tu ṣāḍavam (vaḥ)
Citrasyasadasangasya (?) tv ante kaiśikamadhyamaḥ
Śuddhānām viniyogo-yam brahmaṇā samudāhṛtaḥ.

We find in the present edition of the Nāṭya Śāstra the following verse which is, in essence, a modified form of the above:

"Tatas ca kāvyabandheṣu nānābhāvasamāśrayam
Grāmadvayam ca kartavyam yathā sādhāraṇāśrayam
Mukhe tu Madhyamagrāmah ṣaḍjaḥ pratimukhe bhavet
Sādhāritam tathā garbhe vimarśe-caiva pañcamam
Kaiśikam ca tathā kāryam gāna (m) nirgra (rva) haṇe budhaiḥ
Samnivṛttāśrayam ca-iva rasabhāvasamanvitam."

These verses definitely stipulate when the Rāgas belonging to the two Grāmas and the five Jātis should be sung on the stage in the performance of a Nāṭaka. In the chapters specially relating to Music, Bharata describes none of these names as belonging to Rāgas. Therefore, the names used are not the names of Rāgas—a Rāgas.

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[3] Sangīta Ratnākara—Ānandāśrama series; chapters on Grāmas and Rāgas. Nārada Śikṣā. A copy of this is available in the Madras Oriental Library. See section treating of the two Grāmās and Jātis.

deduction borne out by the clear statement contained in the first śloka, which Kallinātha has omitted to cite. This śloka and the accompanying verse indicate that the rules embodied in them are not for the use of Rāgas of those names, but are for the two Grāmas and the Sādhāraṇa and others mentioned in an earlier part of the work.

(4) One of the very striking features in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription is the vowel endings of svaras—a, i, u, ē. These may be construed to stand for "Śruti bhedas", as will be discussed presently, that is differences in śrutis of svaras. On this basis, each section of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription cannot by any means represent the svara combination of a rāga, for it is essential that the śrutis of the svaras of a particular Rāga must be definitely fixed before building up the melody type; and since the Kuḍumiyāmalai sections involve permutations and combinations of svaras of various śrutis, they can only be svara combinations of Grāmas and Jātis, out of which Rāgas or melodies arise. It is here that we have to remember the oft-quoted line in books on Music:

"Śrutijāstu svarāssarvē svarēbhyō grāma sambavaḥ |
Grāmebhyō jātayōjātā jātibhyō rāgasambhavaḥ".||[4]

that is, "all svaras arise out of śrutis, grāmas out of svaras, jātis out of grāmas and Rāgas out of jātis." The Kuḍumiyāmalai svaras grouped under the two grāmas and the five jātis are so arranged with a set purpose that the student of Music is easily enabled to build up various kinds of melodies or Rāgas.

(5) Further, in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription there is not a single instance of the same note occurring consecutively and this studied absence emphasises the necessary governing condition in the building up of Rāgas, insisting on the eschewing of "Vivādi dōṣa."[5] This point cannot be properly appreciated if the Kuḍumiyāmalai groupings are taken to be Rāgas.

[4] The author who opens his treatise on music with this important verse is Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, the Court musician during the time of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. He was the music master of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's daughters and taught them to play on the vīṇā. In his book *Sangītasūryodaya,* he treats in detail the science of svaras, rāgas and tāḷas of Indian Music. A manuscript of this work is available in the Madras Oriental Library.

[5] Dr. Bhandarkar, in noting the Kaiśika section of the inscription, rightly points out that in a particular place the reading 'amimarē' is a mistake for 'apamarē' on the basis of the fact that nowhere else in the inscription the same note occurs consecutively. He has not, however, clearly brought out the significance of the absence of consecutive notes.—*Ep. Indica,* 12, p. 230.

6. One of the cardinal points put forward by Bhandārkar is that the Rāgas of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription constitute the seven Śuddha Rāgas. He says : ‘It must be remembered that out of the various modifications of these given in the Ratnākara, we have to deal with the Śuddha variety only, e.g., Śuddha Sādhārita, Śuddha Kaiśika etc. In the Śikṣā there is no mention of any modifications.” Since he specifies the nature of only the Gāndhāra and Niṣāda in each of these Rāgas, he is evidently under the strong assumption that the other svaras except the Gāndhāra and Niṣāda are all Śuddha svaras.

Apparently, Bhandārkar did not realise that this assumption and the comparison of the svaras of these Rāgas with those of the Ratnākara and the Śikṣa go directly against his statement that each of them represents a particular melody type or Rāga. The Śikṣa makes no difference between Madhyamagrāma, Ṣaḍjagrāma and Ṣāḍava groups. They all contain the seven Śuddha Svaras including the Gāndhāra and Niṣāda. Whereas the *Ratnākara* presents no difference between Ṣadjagrāma, Ṣāḍava and Pañcama groups, all of which contain the Antara and Kākali plus the other five Śuddha Svaras. A question may now be raised relative to the absence of distinct variations in the Svara combinations, if according to Bhandarkar, each of these sections represents an individual Rāga. That no individual Rāga is represented is therefore self-evident.[6]

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[6] This table will elucidate the point better :

Sections of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription.	Nārada Sikṣā	Kuḍumiyāmalai.	Ratnākara.
MADHYAMAGRĀMA	Śuddha Niṣāda Śuddha Gāndhāra	Suddha Niṣāda Śuddha Gāndhāra	Kākali Niṣāda Śuddha Gāndhāra
ṢADJAMAGRĀMA	Śuddha Gāndhāra Śuddha Niṣāda	Śuddha Gāndhāra Suddha Niṣāda	Antara Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda
ṢĀḌAVA	Śuddha Gāndhāra Śuddha Niṣāda	Antara Gāndhāra Śuddha Niṣāda	Antara Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda
SĀDHĀRITA	Antara Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda	Antara Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda	Śuddha Gāndhāra Śuddha Niṣāda
PAÑCAMA	Antara Gāndhāra Śuddha Niṣāda	Antara Gāndhāra Śuddha Niṣāda	Antara Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda
KAIŚIKA MADHYAMA	Śuddha Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda	Antara Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda	Śuddha Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda
KAIŚIKA	Kākali Niṣāda Śuddha Gāndhāra	Antara Gāndhāra Kākali Niṣāda	Kākali Niṣāda Śuddha Gāndhāra

Dots over Svaras.

Bhandarkar says: "The second point in the notation deserving notice is the dots on the tops of some of the notes. I cannot suggest any explanation of this sign. I do not think, however, that it indicates the lowest of the three octaves as it does in the notation of the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara*".

According to *Bhāratīya Nāṭya Śāstra,* ten criteria determine the Jātis, namely, Graha, Amśa, Tāra, Mandra, Nyāsa, Apanyāsa, Alpatva, Bahutva, Ṣāḍava and Auḍava.[7] In building up melody types or Rāgas, we have to consider as essential factors, Graha, Amśa and Nyāsa. We have to understand the Amśa svaras of a particular Rāga as the "Jīva-svaras" which would bring out the chief characteristic features of the Rāga, thus emphasising the Rakti aspect. In the Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription each group has definite Grahas and a constant Nyāsa, distinct and different from the succeeding groups. We are able to locate the Grahas and the Nyāsas, while the Amśas which, together with the Grahas and the Nyāsas, are necessary factors are not indicated definitely. On the other hand, we have dots over some of the svaras, the function of which notation has not been conclusively established. Amśas which need a notation, and the notation by dots which needs an explanation, go well together supplying the necessary hypothesis for our theory that the dots represent the Amśas. This is obviously the only possible conclusion, as no other rational construction will properly fit in with the data we have.

Now in the first section of the Kuḍumiyāmalai group, namely, the Madhyamagrāma, among the first sixteen svaras grouped in fours, we have the dot notation over Sa and Pa which should be taken to mark the Amśa svaras. Taking the next sixteen svaras, all the four svaras of the second set are dotted above which indicates that all these four jīva svaras together bring out the Rakti prastāra of the Rāga.

The Vowel-endings of Svaras.

The proposition that the vowel-endings of svaras represent "Śruti bhedas" and that therefore, the permutations and combinations of svaras of these sections belong to Grāmas and Jātis, and are not Rāgas, may now be considered.

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[7] "Grahāmśau tāramandrau ca nyasōpaṇyāsa ēvaca:
Alpatvam ca bahutvam ca ṣāḍavauḍavitē tathā:
Iti daśavidha jāti lakṣaṇam: "—*Nāṭya Śāstra.*

Dr. Bhandarkar remarks on the vowel endings as follows :—

“ I am not able to say what the different vowel-endings are intended to indicate, but any one can see that it has no affinity with the similar nomenclature invented by Govinda Dikshit at a later period. . . . and I think the vowel-endings may indicate the particular ways of striking or plucking the string, such as are mentioned in various old works on Music. . . . . .”[8]

Dr. Bhandarkar evidently emphasises the meaning of ‘ Catus ’ that is ‘ four ’, in relation to ‘ prahāra ’ and concludes that ‘ catuṣ-prahāra ’ may stand for the four ways of striking or plucking the string, which according to him are respectively expressed in the notation a i u e by the vowel endings. But much more than this can be read in the vowel-endings of the svaras.

“ Catuṣprahāra svarāgamāḥ ” if rightly understood in the light of the arrangement of the svaras under each section, practically means “ texts of svaras to be played on the string or the stringed instrument in fours. ”

Further, on examining the truth of the statement made by Dr. Bhandarkar that “ the significance of the vowel endings bears no affinity to the similar nomenclature invented by Govinda Dīkṣit ” we find that there are very striking resemblances in the nomenclatures adopted by Govinda Dīkṣit and those of Mahendravarman, though the one is separated from the other by a considerable number of years.

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[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 228. The ‘ Sāraṇas ’ referred to by Bhandarkar in this connection are to be understood rather as names given to the different strings in relation to their pitch than as indicating the particular ways of striking the string.

TABLE I

SVARA NOMENCLATURES ACCORDING TO VENKATAMAKHI.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ra	Ri	Ru	Gu	Ma	Mi	Pa	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Nu	Sa
	Ga	Gi						Na	Ni		

SVARAS.	Lakṣya Nāma.	Lakṣaṇa Nāma.	Venkata makhi's Sanketa Akṣaras.
ṢADJA.	ṢADJA.	ṢADJA.	Sa
Śuddha RIṢABHA	Gauḷa RIṢABHA	Śuddha RIṢABHA	Ra
First Vikṛti	Śrīrāga „	Pañcaśruti „	Ri
Second „	Nāṭa „	Ṣaṭśruti „	Ru
GĀNDHĀRA	Mukhāri GĀNDHĀRA	Śuddha GĀNDHĀRA	Ga
First Vikṛti	Srīrāga „	Sādhāraṇa „	Gi
Second „	Gauḷa „	Antara „	Gu
MADHYAMA	Śuddha MADHYAMA	Śuddha MADHYAMA	Ma
Vikṛti	Varāḷi „	Prati „	Mi
PAÑCAMA	PAÑCAMA	PAÑCAMA	Pa
DHAIVATA	Gauḷa DHAIVATA	Śuddha DHAIVATA	Dha
First Vikṛti	Śrīrāga „	Pañcaśruti „	Dhi
Second „	Nāṭa „	Ṣaṭśruti „	Dhu
NIṢĀDA	Mukhāri NIṢĀDA	Śuddha NIṢĀDA	Na
First Vikṛti	Śrīrāga „	Kaiśiki „	Ni
Second „	Gauḷa „	Kākali „	Nu

The editor of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription thinks that Govinda Dīkṣit was the originator of the different nomenclatures of svaras in the different pitches, but the various extracts taken from the two famous works of Govinda Dīkṣit's son Venkaṭamakhi, contained in the valuable work *"Sangīta Sampradāya Pradarśanī"*[9] by Subbarāma Dīkṣitar, a descendant of Govinda Dīkṣit, show that it is Venkaṭamakhi who calls himself the inventor of these nomenclatures in relation to the "śruti bhedas".

Two of the most original works of Venkaṭamakhi have come down to us. One is known as "*Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā*" and the other "*Rāgaprakaraṇam*". The former consists of ten parts and the fifth part treats of Rāgas. The latter work deals with the same subject of Rāgas more elaborately. In these works he fixes the three varieties of *Rī* as Ra, Ri, Ru ; the three varieties of *Ga* as Ga, Gi, Gu ; the two varieties of *Ma* as Ma, Mi ; the three varieties of *Na* as Na, Ni, Nu.

These indicate nothing but śruti bhedas and from this we may conclude that the originator of the idea of indicating the bhedas in śrutis by adopting vowel endings was Mahēndravarman, and that it was copied long after by the Dīkṣitar school of mucisians. The comparison of the table that follows shows the svara nomenclature adopted by Mahēndravarman and followed by Venkaṭamakhi. The former evidently has worked his scale on a greater number of śrutis and Venkaṭamakhi as we know built up his Kartas having as the base only 12 śrutis at first and then 16 śrutis.

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[9] Vide pp. 19-21 of Sangīta Lakṣaṇa Sangraha in Part I of *Sangīta Sampradāya pradarśanī.*

TABLE II

Table showing how the 72 Kartas are derived from the 16-śruti Scale.

			Sa	Ri$_1$	Ri$_2$	Ri$_3$	Ga$_1$	Ga$_2$	Ga$_3$				Ma$_1$	Ma$_2$				Pa	Dha$_1$	Dha$_2$	Dha$_3$	Ni$_1$	Ni$_2$	Ni$_3$ = 16
Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ri$_2$	Ri$_3$	Ga$_1$		Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Ma$_2$	Ma$_3$	Ma$_4$		Pa	Pa	Pa	Pa	Dha$_1$	Dha$_2$	Dha$_3$	Ni$_1$		Ni$_2$ = 22*
			Sa			Ri			Ga				Ma					Pa			Dha			Ni

* = Śuddha Svara Mēla.

(*Vide Ramamatya's Svaramēla Kalānidhi).

(1)	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_1$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_1$	Sa	(4)	Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_1$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_1$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_2$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_2$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_1$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_3$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_3$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_1$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_2$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_2$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_1$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_3$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_3$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_1$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_3$	Ni$_3$	Sa = 6		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_3$	Ni$_3$	Sa = 6
(2)	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_1$	Sa	(5)	Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_1$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_2$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_2$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_3$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_3$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_2$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_2$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_3$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_3$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_2$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_3$	Ni$_3$	Sa = 6		Sa	Ri$_2$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_3$	Ni$_3$	Sa = 6
(3)	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_1$	Sa	(6)	Sa	Ri$_3$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_1$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_2$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_3$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_2$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_3$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_3$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_1$	Ni$_3$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_2$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_3$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_2$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_3$	Sa		Sa	Ri$_3$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_2$	Ni$_3$	Sa
	Sa	Ri$_1$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_3$	Ni$_3$	Sa = 6		Sa	Ri$_3$	Ga$_3$	Ma$_1$	Pa	Dha$_3$	Ni$_3$	Sa = 6

The number of Kartas, with Śuddha Ma, in each section being 6, the total is 36 ; with Prati Ma also, it will be 72.

This is obtained by the adoption of 16 śrutis. But in the 22-śruti Scale we have Ma with 4 śrutis, which enables us to obtain 16 Kartas in one cakra.

With the four divisions of Ma, we have 16 × 16 = 256 × 4 = 1024 Rāgas or Kartas.

Antara and Kākali in the Kuḍumiyāmalai Groups.

Bhandarkar writes "In the notation of this music two points deserves special notice:—(1) Each note is expressed by a combination of the initial consonant in the name of the note with the vowels 'a' 'i', 'u' or 'e', e.g., we have sa, si, su, se; ra, ri; ru; re etc. Following the same rule, for the note Antara, which begins with the vowel A, we must have the modifications a, i, u & e; and for the Kākali, ka, ki, ku & ke. But in this inscription we find a, u and e, and ka, ku and ke only. The i and ki are wanting. In old Hindu music the Antara and the Kākali received the same treatment and it is therefore to be expected that of i and ki, if one should be excluded, the other would be excluded on identical grounds."

This leads to the conclusion that according to Bhandarkar, a and ka stand for Antara and Kākali. Arguments in favour of such an identification may be cited as follows:

(1) 'A' and 'Ka' are *prima facie* indicative of 'Antara' and 'Kākali' respectively, just as the other notations of the octave are indicative of Ṣadja, Riṣabha, Gāndhāra, etc.

(2) The absence of the regular Gāndhāra and the regular Niṣāda and the presence of 'A' and 'Ka' explain that the latter two are respectively the substitutes for the two former.

(3) The same treatment given to the Antara and the Kakali should on identical grounds be accorded to 'i' and 'ki' in their exclusion.

(4) A scrutiny of the tabular statement of the inscription wherein the Varjya svaras are clearly indicated shows that the Ṣadja and Madhyama Grāmas are definitely worked on the 22-śruti basis for practical purposes.

TABLE III

Table showing the Varjya Svaras or Śrutis in each of the Kuḍumiyāmalai Groups.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
MADHYAMAGRĀMA.	Sa	Si	Su	Se	Ra	Ri	Ru	Re	Ga	Gi	Gu	Ge	Ma	Mi	Mu	Me	Pa	Pi	Pu	Pe	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Dhe	Na	Ni	Nu	Ne
	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	+
	21	—	22	1	2	—	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	—	13	14	15	—	—	16	—	17	18	19	20
ṢADJAGRĀMA	Sa	Si	Su	Se	Ra	Ri	Ru	Re	Ga	Gi	Gu	Ge	Ma	Mi	Mu	Me	Pa	Pi	Pu	Pe	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Dhe	Na	Ni	Nu	Ne
	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
	21	—	22	1	2	—	3	4	5	6	7	8	—	9	10	11	—	12	13	14	—	15	16	17	18	—	19	20
ṢĀḌAVA.	Sa	Si	Su	Se	Ra	Ri	Ru	Re	A	E	U	Ye	Ma	Mi	Mu	Me	Pa	Pi	Pu	Pe	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Dhe	Na	Ni	Nu	Ne
	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
	21	—	22	1	2	3	4	5	6	—	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	—	14	15	—	16	17	18	19	—	—	20
SĀDHĀRITA.	Sa	Si	Su	Se	Ra	Ri	Ru	Re	A	E	U	Ye	Ma	Mi	Mu	Me	Pa	Pi	Pu	Pe	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Dhe	Ka	Ki	Ku	Ke
	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+
	20	21	22	1	2	3	4	5	6	—	7	8	9	10	11	12	—	13	14	15	—	16	17	18	—	—	—	19
PAÑCAMA.	Sa	Si	Su	Se	Ra	Ri	Ru	Re	A	E	U	Ye	Ma	Mi	Mu	Me	Pa	Pi	Pu	Pe	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Dhe	Na	Ni	Nu	Ne
	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
	21	—	22	1	2	3	4	5	6	—	7	8	9	10	11	12	—	13	14	15	—	16	17	18	19	—	—	20
KAIŚIKA MADHYAMA.	Sa	Si	Su	Se	Ra	Ri	Ru	Re	A	E	U	Ye	Ma	Mi	Mu	Me	Pa	Pi	Pu	Pe	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Dhe	Ka	Ki	Ku	Ke
	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
	20	21	22	1	2	3	4	5	6	—	7	8	9	10	11	12	—	—	—	—	13	14	15	16	17	—	18	19
KAIŚIKA.	Sa	Si	Su	Se	Ra	Ri	Ru	Re	A	E	U	Ye	Ma	Mi	Mu	Me	Pa	Pi	Pu	Pe	Dha	Dhi	Dhu	Dhe	Ka	Ki	Ku	Ke
	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+

+ Indicates the presence of Svaras of the Śruti.

0 Indicates the absence of Svaras of the Śruti.

Of the remaining sections, except the Kaiśika, all others are worked also on the 22-śruti scale. It may further be noticed that all the four śrutis of the Ṣadja, viz., Sa Si Su Se, have been adopted for use in the Kaiśika, Kaiśika-Madhyama and Sādhārita groups, while the second śruti of Ṣadja, i.e., Si, is omitted in the others. The reason for the adoption and omission of these śrutis as mentioned, may be explained by the fact that in the Kaiśika Madhyama section, if Dha is started as Graha (because of the complete omission of the four vowel endings of Pa), then the 22nd śruti will be the fourth Madhyama.

Adopting a similar process for the Sādhārita and Kaiśika jātis, with the application of the Śuddha Ṣadja as Graha, we have Triśruti Ṣadja *Su* and the Catuśśruti Niṣāda *Ke* respectively as the 22nd śrutis (omitting the first three śrutis of Ka and the first three śrutis of Sa). The very fact that these omissions occur, namely, of a major number of śrutis in Pa and Ka with the inclusion of A and Ka instead of Śuddha Gāndhāra and Śuddha Niṣāda in Kaiśika Madhyama and Sādhārita groups, weakens Bhandarkar's interpretation of " A " and " Ka " into Antara and Kākali.

It may be suggested that instead of Antara Gāndhāra and Kākali Nīṣāda the 'A' and 'Ka' may stand for the so-called Vikṛti Pañcama and Vikṛti Ṣadja respectively, as derived by the Graha process.[10]

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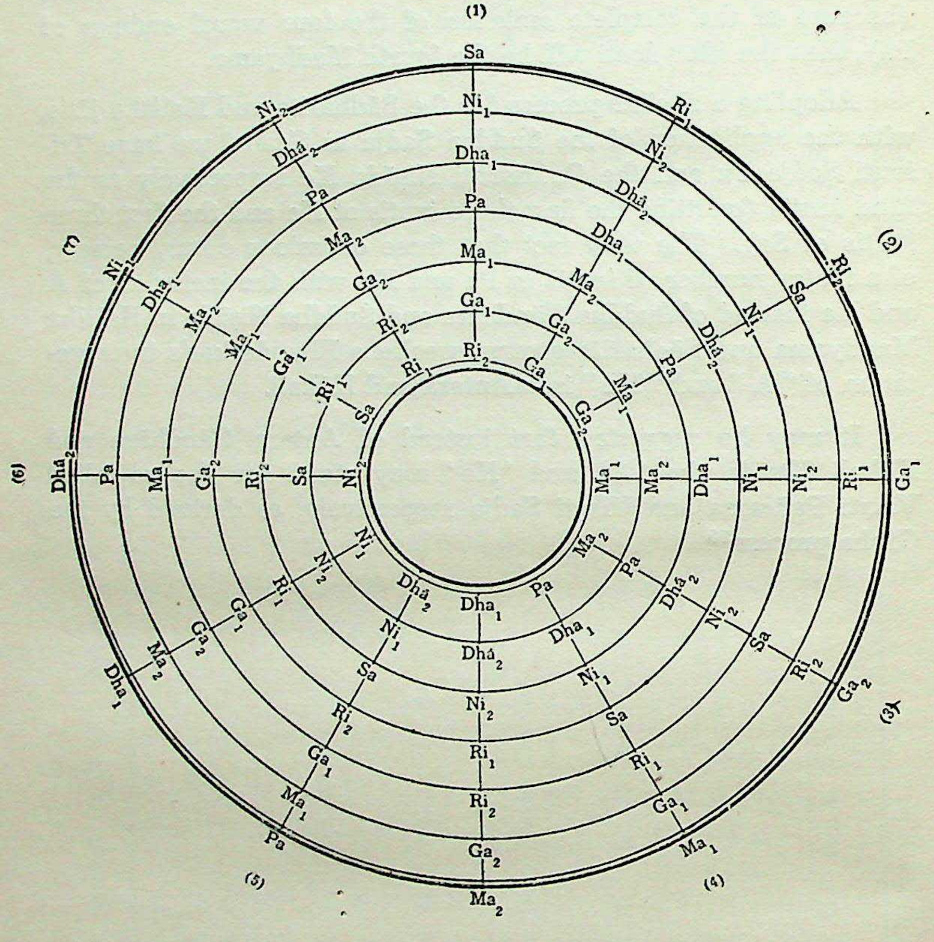
[10] The śruti bhedas by the process of Graha are indicated by a circular table that follows.

SRUTI-BHEDA OR GRAHA FORMATION OF THE 6 CONSTANT CYCLES OF INDIVIDUAL GHANA RAGAS


(1)
Sa
Ni$_1$
Dha$_1$
Pa
Ma$_1$
Ga$_1$
Ri$_2$
Ri$_1$
Ni$_2$
Dhá$_2$
Dha$_1$
Ma$_2$
Ga$_2$
Ga$_1$
(2)
Ri$_2$
Sa
Ni$_1$
Dhá$_2$
Pa
Ma$_1$
Ga$_2$
Ga$_1$
Ri$_1$
Ni$_2$
Ni$_1$
Dha$_1$
Ma$_2$
Ma$_1$
Ga$_2$
Ri$_2$
Sa
Ni$_2$
Dhá$_2$
Pa
Ma$_2$
(3)
Ma$_1$
Ga$_1$
Ri$_1$
Sa
Ni$_1$
Dha$_1$
Pa
(4)
Ma$_2$
Ga$_2$
Ri$_2$
Ri$_1$
Ni$_2$
Dhá$_2$
Dha$_1$
Pa
Ma$_1$
Ga$_1$
Ri$_2$
Sa
Ni$_1$
Dhá$_2$
(5)
Dha$_1$
Ma$_2$
Ga$_2$
Ga$_1$
Ri$_1$
Ni$_2$
Ni$_1$
Dha$_2$
Pa
Ma$_1$
Ga$_2$
Ri$_2$
Sa
Ni$_2$
(6)
Ni$_1$
Dha$_1$
Ma$_2$
Ma$_1$
Ga$_1$
Ri$_1$
Sa
(7)
Ni$_2$
Dhá$_2$
Pa
Ma$_2$
Ga$_2$
Ri$_2$
Ri$_1$

NUMBERS WITHIN BRACKETS INDICATE THE GRAHA SCALE OF SVARAS

This suggestion must be tentative as it involves a great number of technical difficulties. However, for the present we may bear in mind Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that 'A' and 'Ka' stand for the Antara and Kākali.

Śrutis involved in the Kuḍumiyāmalai Music.

Each vowel ending in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription on Music represents a śruti. Thus the a i u e will stand for the eka, dvi, tri and catus śrutis of a particular svara. To be more explicit, Sa represents eka Ṣadja Sa$_1$, Si represents dvi śruti Ṣadja Sa$_2$, Su represents triśruti Ṣadja Sa$_3$, and Se represents catuśśruti Ṣadja Sa$_4$. This fixes the total number of srutis for the seven svaras as 28.

In the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription we have absolutely no indication regarding the śrutis of the Śuddha svara meḷa. The time-honoured verse " Catuś catuś catuś caiva Ṣadja Madhya Pañcamāḥ ; dvedve Niṣāda Gāndhārau tristriḥ Riṣabhadhaivatau " has been fitted into the 22 śruti scale as follows :

Ṣadja taking the 4th place.
Riṣabha taking the 7th place.
Gāndhāra taking the 9th place.
Madhyama taking the 13th place.
Pañcama taking the 17th place.
Dhaivata taking the 20th place.
and Niṣāda taking the 22nd place.

This has been conceived of as assigning the places of the Śuddha svaras, by Ramāmātya. However, we are unable to apply this order of places for the respective Śuddha svaras in the case of the Kuḍumiyāmalai scale which involves 28 śrutis.

The verse is rather to be understood as indicating the location of the Śuddha svara of each division of four śruits than a mere number of śrutis. Thus 'Catus' applying to Ṣadja, Madhyama and Pañcama will fix the position of the Śuddha svaras of each of these at the fourth śruti of the respective division. Similarly the 'dve' for niṣāda and Gāndhāra fixes the Śuddha svara position at the second śruti in each division; and thirdly the 'tri' indicates that the Śuddha svara is at the third śruti of the four divisions of Dhaivata and Riṣbha. Thus the Śuddha svaras of the 22 śruti scale which are Sa$_4$, Ri$_3$, Ga$_2$, Ma$_4$, Pa$_4$, Dha$_3$, & Ni$_2$ must necessarily be different from the Śuddha svaras of the Kuḍumiyāmalai scale which are Sa$_6$, Ri$_3$, Ga$_3$, Ma$_6$, Pa$_4$, Dha$_3$, Ni$_3$.

From the above classification we get the following śruti values for the Śuddha svaras:

Ṣadja 6 śrutis (2 from Ni & 4 Sa).
Riṣaba 3 śrutis
Gāndhāra 3 śrutis (1 from Ri & 2 Ga).
Madhyama 6 śrutis (2 from Ga & 4 Ma).
Pañcama 4 śrutis
Dhaivata 3 śrutis
Niṣāda 3 (1 from Dha & 2 Ni).

The notation of the Śuddha-svara-mela on the basis of the above śrutis will be Se, Ru, Gi, Me, Pe, Dhu, Ni.

TABLE V

SVARA NOMENCLATURE.

	Venkatamakhi.		Kuḍumiyāmalai.		Śuddha Svara Mela.
1.	Śuddha ṢADJAMA	Sa	ṢADJAMA (4 śrutis)	Sa	
2.	..	..	Pañcasruti „	Si	
3.	..	..	Ṣaṭśruti „	Su	
4.	..	..	Saptaśruti „	Se	6
5.	Śuddha RIṢABHA	Ra	RIṢABHA (4 śrutis)	Ra	
6.	Pañcaśruti „	Ri	Pañcasruti „	Ri	
7.	Ṣaṭśruti „	Ru	Ṣaṭśruti „	Ru	3
8.	..	..	Saptaśruti „	Re	
9.	Śuddha GĀNDHĀRA	Ga	GĀNDHĀRA (4 śrutis)	Ga	
10.	Sādhāraṇa „	Gi	Pañcasruti „	Gi	3
11.	Antara „	Gu	Ṣaṭśruti „	Gu	
12.	..	..	Saptaśruti „	Ge	
13.	Śudha MADHYAMA	Ma	MADHYAMA (4 śrutis)	Ma	
14.	Prati or Varāḷi	Mi	Pañcasruti „	Mi	
15.	..	..	Ṣaṭśruti „	Mu	
16.	..	..	Saptaśruti „	Me	6
17.	Suddha PAÑCAMA	Pa	PAÑCAMA (4 śrutis)	Pa	
18.	..	..	Pañcasruti „	Pi	
19.	..	..	Ṣaṭśruti „	Pu	
20.	..	..	Saptaśruti „	Pe	4
21.	Śuddha DHAIVATA	Dha	DHAIVATA (4 śrutis)	Dha	
22.	Pañcaśruti „	Dhi	Pañcasruti „	Dhi	
23.	Ṣaṭśruti „	Dhu	Ṣaṭśruti „	Dhu	3
24.	..	..	Saptaśruti „	Dhe	
25.	Śuddha NIṢĀDA	Na	NISĀDA (4 śrutis)	Na	
26.	Kaiśika „	Ni	Pañcasruti „	Ni	3
27.	Kākali „	Nu	Ṣaṭśruti „	Nu	
28.	..	..	Saptaśruti „	Ne	

Having determined the relative positions of the Śuddha svaras in the 28-śruti scale of the Kuḍimiyāmalai music, our next point is to consider if there are notations indicating the so-called Vikṛti svaras mentioned in books on music.

We have already discussed Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the "A" and "Ka" in the inscription as "Antara" and "Kākali" respectively. Excepting the 2nd śruti of the A I U E notations and the 2nd śruti of the Ka, Ki, Ku, Ke notations, we have the other three vowel endings in each division. The absence of the " I " and " Ki " vowel endings lends additional strength to our assignment of places to the Śuddha Gāndhāra and Śuddha Niṣāda in the scale in question, for it is evident that the Gāndhāra and the Nīṣāda have both lost their places giving room for the introduction of Vikṛti svaras.

The relative śruti positions of the regular Gāndhāra and the Antara Gāndhāra can be studied. If " I " represents the Antara Gāndhāra, its place in the 28-śruti scale will be the 5th śruti from Śuddha Riṣabha and 2nd śruti from Śuddha Gāndhāra, i.e., the 12th place in the 28 śruti scale.

The difference between "Gu" and "U" in their śruti values, namely "Gu" being the 4th from Śuddha Riṣabha and "U" being the 3rd from it, the " I " of the A, I, U, E, being omitted is one. What applies to Antara applies identically to Kākali.

Regarding the so-called Vikṛti svaras recognised in the present day music, the author of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription seems to have utilised only two svaras, namely, the "Antara" and the "Kākali". But the notations "A" and "Ka" with the subsequent vowel-endings give us six Vikṛti svaras in the 28 śruti divisions. The second vowel ending of each of these being left out, the śruti value of each of the divisions will be 1|3, whereas the śruti value of the sub-division of the regular svara range is ¼. Therefore, the śruti value of the 28 śrutis in the aggregate is taken up by 5 śvara ranges or 20 sub-divisions, each taking ¼th, i.e., 20 X ¼ of the śruti value for the svara, and 6 vikṛti sub-divisions each taking 1|3 of the śruti value of the svara. Thus we have 20 parts of the available 28 taken up by the regular svara divisions and 8 parts by the Vikṛti svaras.

A DETAILED STUDY OF THE TWO GRAMAS

Madhyamagrāma

The Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription begins with the Madhyamagrāma representing a group of svaras, the permutations and combinations of which form different individual melody types in that group. In fixing up a melody type, as we have observed, a Nyāsa Graha and amśa and a particular kind of śruti should be so selected as to suit the particular type. A persual of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription proves the definite theory that the learned author of this inscription has also followed the above formula for the benefit of later generations of music lovers.

There are five groups containing 26 sub-groups in fours. Taking the first grouping in the Madhyamagrāma, we have 16 groups of four svaras, each fulfilling all the conditions above mentioned. Each group begins with a different graha of Sa, Ga, Ni, Ma; next Ma, Ri, Sa, Ni; then Ma, Pa, Ri, Dha; and lastly, Ni, Pa, Ga, Ma;[11] having the same svara Ṣadja as the Nyāsa common to all the sub-groups and also having the dots on particular svaras representing the amśa.

The inscription agrees with the Śikṣā that the note Dhaivata with its fifth note Riṣabha as its Samvādi in the Avarohaṇa or Sa-Ma-Bhava has been omitted as a Nyāsa (ending) or Apanyāsa (penultimate) both being Durbala (weak) when framing the Madhyamagrāma melody types or rāgas. This is well explained in ancient literature on Music.[12]

In this connection, it may be pointed out that Bhandarkar in his discussion of the Durbala nature of Dhaivata, has failed to note the similar characteristic with regard to its Samvādi Svara, Riṣabha, which is also Durbala in the Madhyamagrāma; and hence also omitted to take the place of a Nyāsa for reasons best set forth by him.

Similarly, an examination of the other groups in this Grāma will also reveal the scrupulous care with which these groupings are composed. One striking feature in this Grāma is that the svaras Ri and Dha are completely eliminated from the Nyāsas in the sub-groups. This, perhaps, is due to the interchange of the position of Ri and Dha into Pa and Sa which are the svayambū svaras when the Madhyamagrāma is interchanged to Ṣadjagrāma by the process of graha.

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[11] In fact, in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription the Graha svaras are: Sa, Gi, Ne, Mu; Mi, Rum, Ne; Mi, Pem, Ra, Dhu; Ne, Pi, Ga, Mum.

[12] In the *Bhāratīya Nāṭya Śāstra* the antara and kākali are described as weak notes to be used under great restriction and that they can never occur as finals. If we examine the inscription we find that this rule apparently holds good here also (see sections IV, V and VI) except in section VII. Even in this section it will be noticed that these notes are not the absolute finals (Nyāsas) but only Apanyāsas (penultimates).

The usual order in which the Grāmas are treated in ancient books on music is as follows:—Ṣadjagrāma, Madhyamagrāma and Gāndhāragrāma. However, in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription, the second grāma is mentioned first. It is not surprising that the inscription begins with the Madhyamagrāma. It is in the fitness of things that for various valid reasons the royal author of the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription had decided to start with this particular grāma. One important reason that may be assigned for this is that the svara Sa is the outcome of the svara Ma as the pentat or quinton cycle would explain. This is described spiritually as 'sphoṭa.'

There is yet another interpretation.

In tracing the origin of our present day music we realise that Dēśī music, i.e., music prevalent on earth, is the outcome of Mārga music which is variously defined as "Gāndharva" or "music of the Vedas" which comprised only three notes, viz., Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita. The Sāmagāna, which was purely vocal, was conceived downward and the vocal scale proceeded, in descent, from the Gāndhāra of the upper register. The pentatonic scale of svaras, which developed itself from the original three-svara scale, prevailed in the Sāmagāna and was conceived downward. This scale was made up of Ga, Ri, Sa, Ni, Dha.

Later, this scale became a complete heptatonic scale of seven svaras, and Ma was placed above Ga, while Pa was added below Dha. This scale viz., Ma, Ga, Ri, Sa, Ni, Dha, Pa,[13] began with Ma and naturally, therefore, it was called the Madhyamagrāma.

The earliest was the Ga-Grāma while Ma-Grāma came next into the field of Music. It was only when secular music grew more and more popular that Sa-Grāma was introduced, in the *ascending order*. This last Grāma still exists as the main Grāma, the Ga and Ma Grāmas having almost died out.

We thus observe that Ga-Grāma was the first while Ma-Grāma was the second and Sa-Grāma came last. In the Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription we find that in the days of Mahēndravarman, this order of Madhyama Grāma and Ṣadja Grāma was still appreciated and preserved, for it is the Madhyamagrāma that is treated first and Ṣadjagrāma follows. It is also interesting to note that music in the Madhyamagrāma was in vogue in the 7th century.

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[13] Yaḥ Sâmagânâm prathamaḥ sa venōrmadhyamaḥ svaraḥ:
Yo dvitīyaḥ sa Gāndhārastritīyastvriṣabaḥ smṛtaḥ:
Caturthaḥ ṣadja ityahūrniṣādaḥ pancamō bhavēt:
Ṣaṣṭhastu dhaivato jñeyah saptamah pancamaḥ smṛtaḥ:
Nārada Śikṣā, I. 7.

Ṣadjagrāma.

This grāma has seven sub-groups. Since it is a group containing Rāgas of Sampūrṇa-sampūrṇa Svaras, i.e., composed of seven svaras both in the ārohaṇa and the avarohaṇa scales, and since the Ṣadjagrāma Rāgas are the largest in number, it is natural to expect the largest number of groups and sub-groups in this grāma.

All the svaras of the octave are represented as Nyāsas. Sa Ri Ga Pa Dha Ni Ma. The reason which we adduced for Madhyamagrāma being the starting group, viz., that Sa is the outcome of Ma, can also be applied in this instance in justifying the final Nyāsa position accorded to Ma, which has been definitely held by the author to be of prominence.

According to Ṣadja-Pañcama Bhāva in the Ṣadjagrāma, the Pañcama is born of the Ṣadja; the Catuśśruti Riṣabha from Pañcama; the Catuśśruti Dhaivata from the Catuśśruti Riṣabha; the Antara Gāndhāra from the Catuśśruti Dhaivata ; the Kākali Niṣāda from the Antara Gāndhāra; and lastly, the Prati Madhyama from the Kākali Niṣāda; thus making up the first cycle.

Again, the next cycle is completed thus :—The Śuddha Riṣabha is born from the aforesaid Prati Madhyama; the śuddha Dhaivata from the śuddha Riṣabha ; the sādhāraṇa Gāndhāra (śuddha 1|81?) from the śuddha Dhaivata ; the Kaiśika Niṣāda (śuddha 1|81?) from the Sādhāraṇa Gandhāra; the Śuddha Madhyama from the Kaiśika Niṣāda; and Ṣadja from the Śuddha Madhyama.

From the above discussion, we may conclude that the Kuḍumiyāmalai sections do not stand for individual rāgas but for groups and permutations and combinations of svaras which will enable us to build up a variety of melody types or ragas. This was the intention and purpose of the royal composer.

TABLE VI

The formation of Ṣadja and Madhyama Grāmas

Śruti Number.	Ṣadja Grāma.	Madhyama Grāma	
		Practical	Theoretical
1			
2			
3			
4	Sa		Sa
5			
6			
7	Ri		Ri
8			
9	Ga		Ga
10			
11			
12			
13	Ma	Ma	Ma
14			
15			
16		Pa	Pa
17	Pa		
18			
19			
20	Dha	Dha	Dha
21			
22	Ni	Ni	Ni
1			
2			
3			
4	(Sa)	Sa	(Sa)
5			
6			
7		Ri	
8			
9		Ga	
10			
11			
12			
13		(Ma)	

CHAPTER XVIII

DANCING

The Tamil Kūttus

In the Tamil country the art of dancing goes back to a very remote antiquity. In the Arangēṟṟu kādai and the Kaḍalāḍu kāḍai, the third and sixth chapters of Pugār-kāṇḍam, the first book of *Śilappadikāram,* we have reference to varieties of dances in vogue then in the Tamil country, and Aḍiyārkunallār has provided exhaustive descriptions of these quoting evidences from Agattiyam, Śeyiṟṟiyam, Jayantam and Guṇanūl.[1]

These indigenous dances or *Kūttus* as they were called and described in these early Tamil works had, as we know, their distinctive features and an individuality of their own which were clearly different from the classic Indian art of dancing scientifically treated in Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra.

The Kūttus were mainly divided into two broad kinds with many sub-divisions in each. For example, the *Śāntikkūttu* consisted of four kinds of dances while the other division *Vinōdakkūttu* intended chiefly for the ordinary masses contained in it six varieties of dances with a seventh as an addition *Kuravai, Kalinaḍam, Kuḍakkūttu, Karaṇam, Nōkku* and *Tōrpāvai,* and either *Vidūḍakkūttu* or *Veṟiyāṭṭu* as the seventh.[2]

A characteristic feature of the Tamil Kūttus is that they relate to group dances mainly of a pastoral kind. The *Kuḍakkūttu*—'Pot dance'—for instance is described as one in which shepherds "gave vent to their exuberance of joy".[3] These dances were accompanied by music, vocal and instrumental. The yāḻ, the kuḻal and the drum were the most popular instruments in use.

The Classic Dance

The classic dancing of India on the other hand was introduced chiefly for the stage and for the courts of kings, but was later also performed in temples. Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra is broady divided into four sections based on abhinayas or "modes of conveyance of the theatrical pleasure to audience." Āngika-abhinaya which is to be understood as expression of feelings through the movements of the organs of the body is a characteristic feature of the classic Indian dance and Bharata devotes nearly six chapters to the above subject.

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[1] *Śilappadikāram,* p. 80 ff—Swaminatha Aiyar's Edition.

[2] "Eḷuvakaikkūttum—Iḻikulattōṟai yāḍavaguttān Agattiyanṟānē".—*Śilappadikāram,* p. 81 ff.

[3] Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi, 2, 7 and Commentary.

In describing the art of dancing in the days of the Pallavas, we have to maintain these three distinctions, secular, religious and divine. There is no direct evidence to show that in the Pallava period the different Kūttus of the Tamil country flourished. But we have sufficient indications to assert that the Pallava monarchs patronised the classic art of dancing as embodied in the Nāṭya Śāstra. The paintings of the two women dancers on the Śittannāvaśal cave (Pl. VII fig. 13, and VIII fig. 15) reveal the development attained in this branch of art.

The painters of the Śittannavāśal cave, as observed already, have not depicted the complete figures of the lady dancers but only their busts. It is, therefore, possible to study their hand poses alone and not the entire mode of dance which each of them represents. The dancer on the right side has her left arm in the "gajahasta" pose and her right palm is held in the "Catura" pose. It is interesting to notice that this hand pose is a marked feature of later sculptures and bronze images of Śiva depicted in the Nādānta dance before the assembly (Sabhā) in the golden hall of Cidambaram or Tillai,[4] and therefore, very popular in South India. It is this hand pose that is again copied profusely in the art of the contemporary monument of Jāvā, Borobudūr. Plates: 0.149 and I.b. 19 provide fitting examples of the Jāvan sculptures.[5]

The dancer on the other pillar has her left arm gracefully stretched out as in the case of the mode of dance described as "Latāvṛścika" in the Nāṭya Śāstra. Bharata defines "Latāvṛscika" as a posture of dance in which the left leg must be bent backward, the fingers and palm of the right hand should be bent upward and the left hand should be stretched out in the form of a latā.[6]

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[4] See pates LVI, LVII, LVIII, LIX and LXVI of Gopinatha Rao's
Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part I. This particular hand pose is also a
notable feature of the "Catura" mode of dance. In the Bharata Nāṭya
Śāstra, the "Catura" dance is defined thus:—"The left arm should be in
the *añcita* pose, the right one in the *catura* pose and the right leg in the
Kuṭṭita pose.

"Añcitaḥ syāt karō vāmaḥ savyaścatura ēva tu |
Dakṣinaḥ kuṭṭitaḥ pādaścaturam tat prakīrtitam. || Abhinava-
It is thus clear that the gajahasta was also defined as añcita.
Gupta gives 'alapallava' as a synoym of añcita.

[5] See Krom Borobudūr, Vol. I.

In individual dancing, Bharata lays great emphasis on "Hasta-abhinaya," that is, suggestive gestures or symbols of the hand or hands[7] from which objects and ideas may be interpreted. In Bharata, each symbol described has something to tell us and the object is always conveyed by the posture taken.[8]

Let us take a few examples and illustrate the "rasa" of "Hasta-abhinaya" in classic dance. The "gajahasta" for instance, is represented by a bend of the hand towards left or right and a downward bend of the same palm with the fingers pointing down, thus resembling the tusk of an elephant. The ardha-Candra hand is represented in the shape of a half-moon and whenever a dancer wished to represent the crescent on Śiva's head the ardha-Candra posture of the hand was always adopted.

Bharata is as usual very human in describing this hand pose. He believes that since ladies dress their hair with their hands held in the shape of a half-moon, the "ardha Candra" hasta should be recommended as the abhinaya for the dancer to depict the dressing of hair.[9]

Again, the hand pose sūci-hasta[10] is described thus: The forefinger should be stretched out, the thumb must be bent, the middle, the ring and the little fingers are to be closed. This hasta-abhinaya may be employed by the dancer to convey the ideas—"writing on the

[6] Verse 105, p. 118, Vol. I, Baroda publication:
"Añcitaḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ pādaḥ kṛñcitōrdhalatāṅguḷiḥ |
Latākhyastu karō vāmastallatā vṛścikam bhavēt ||

[7] Single hand symbols are described as *Asamyuta* and double hand symbols as *Samyuta*.

[8] *Kāvyamālā*, Chap. IX.

[9] "Ētēna punaḥ strīṇām keśānām sangrahōtkarṣau—"IX, 41.

[10] *Bharata Śāstra* in Tamil by Arabatta Nāvalar, (Madras, 1876). This is a highly instructive little book on Nāṭya Śāstra. The first chapter is on Bhāvaviyal and contains complete descriptions of hand symbols—Karalakṣaṇas and their object in Nāṭya. It describes the Sūcī-hasta in the following verses:

"Sūcikkaiyē śuṭṭuviraṟanai. māśaṟa nīṭṭi vaṇakkudal peruviral
Māttimaiyanāmikai śiṟuviran madakkudal. Uttamavikkaratturu toḻil kēṉmin.
"Nila veḷutteluduta nērporuḷ kāṭṭal. Kalaviyir karikara līlai śeydiḍudal
Allal śeypagaivarai yaccuruttiḍudal. Pallai veḷukkap pāṅguḍanṟēyttiḍal.
...."—pp. 26.

floor"—"pointing to an object in front"—"threatening an enemy," "cleaning the teeth," etc.

The patākā-hasta[11] of Bharata is a hand pose where the palm is flattened, fingers come close together and are straightened up with the thumb alone slightly bent. Various objects and ideas are conveyed by this hand-pose in dance. These are very appropriately described as—slapping, clapping, depicting the flag of a chariot, etc. The hand is said to resemble a patākā, because when the palm is bent at the wrist at right angles to the forearm, it appears to take the shape of a flag.

Such being the rasa and the object of Hasta-abhinaya, Bharata and those of his school bestowed much attention on them. Bharata did not stop with the mere description of a certain number of Hastas, but for the sake of the dancer who proved to be a specialist in the science of Hastas, he suggested ways and means of introducing original symbols in case new objects and ideas had to be expressed.[12]

Now, it is evident that the author of the Śittannavāśal frescoes was a master of Hasta-abhinaya. The very fact that the painters were instructed to depict only the busts with the hand-poses of the dancers indicates the intention of the royal patron of art. Undoubtedly, the prominence given to Hasta-abhinaya in Nāṭya Śāstra was well-recognised by Mahēndravarman by the adoption of two of the most beautiful hand-poses each of which adorns a pillar of the sacred Jain monument.[13]

The paintings of the Śittannavāśal dancers besides revealing to us the rasa of Hasta-abhinaya also exhibit another factor in the field of fine-art, namely the close affinity of dancing to the art of painting; for it is a known fact that painting, from among other sources, specially seeks inspiration from the art of dancing.

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[11] "Patākaikkaiyē pakarilai viralum
Nidānamānerukki nērē nīṭṭudal
Aḍavuḍanṟoḻi ṟanaiyaṟivikkil
Naṭanavidatti nāḍikkaitaṭṭudal
Maṭtaḷam palagaiyil vāttiya muḻakkudal etc."—*Bharata Śāstra*,
Tamil, p. 12-15.

[12] Chapter IX; 151-155.

[13] "Hasta abhinaya" is popularly known as "Mudrās." In the "Kathakaḷi" of the West Coast, the Mudrās form a sort of codified gesture language. Twenty-four Mudrās with their permutation and combination are employed in the "Kathakaḷi" and each of them is to express outwardly the innermost ideas of the actor. See the description of the Hand Mudras in the recent Archaeological Report.—(for Travancore).

Early Sanskrit texts on painting lay simultaneous emphasis on dancing, and the Citra Sūtra of the *Viṣṇudharmōttara* is a good example of this. A perusal of the discourse[14] between Mārkaṇḍēya and Vajra in the beginning of canto III of Viṣṇudharmōttara intimates the truth that a proficient painter must possess a knowledge of dancing. The Pallava painters of the time of Mahēndravarman seem to have maintained the ideal and evidently handed it over to their successors in the South. Attention may be drawn to the painting of the dancing group in the Bṛhadiśvara temple, the glory of Rāja Rāja.[15]

Quite different from the individual dancing of the Jaina cave, we have in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñcī a couple of sculptures representing group-dancing composed of men and women. These two panels seem to relate to the court of Nandivarman I. The first picture contains the king seated on his throne and his officials. Before him stand three dancers. In the centre is the male dancer very artistically dressed and accompanied by two women-dancers, one on either side. They appear to have just finished their performance and to watch a wrestling match[16] between two men.

The wrestling performance immediately following that of dancing need not seem to be irrelevant, for observing similar scenes where dancers and wrestlers are found together on the monument of Borobudūr, Krom suggests that they are so, probably because the same music was employed, both for dancing and wrestling. We may adduce this explanation in the case of the sculpture on the Pallava monument.[17]

In the other panel[18] of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple we find, marching into the king's court from outside, a troupe of nine men consisting of musicians and dancers. The first member of the troup is a drummer who walks in, playing on his drum and he is followed by six men and two women-dancers.

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[14] Vajra uvāca—citrasūtram samācakṣva bhṛguvamśa vivarḍhana. Citra sūtra vidēvātha vētti vāglakṣaṇam yataḥ ; Mārkaṇḍēya uvāca—Vinā tu nṛtya-śāstrēṇa citrasūtram sudurvidam ; Jagatō na kṛiyā kāryā dvayōrapi yatō nṛpa. Vajra uvāca-nṛtya śāstram sāmā cakṣva citrasūtram vadiṣyasi. Nṛtya śāstra vidhānam ca citram vētti yatō dvija.

[15] Trivēnī—J.O.R.S., VIII, Part II, p. 188.

[16] North Wall, panel XXI.

[17] B.A. 152 and 052, *Borobudūr* plates. Text, Vol. II, p. 243.

[18] North Wall, panel XX.

Two interesting points arise out of the description of the above panels. First, in the time of the Pallavas dancing was the delight of both sexes, but this need not lead us to think that men- dancers were unknown in the earlier days. In fact, Bharata recommended dancing both for men and women. The various references to dancing masters in early Sanskrit literature,[19] the descriptions of the Tamil Kūttus where men figured prominently,[20] and the contemporary representations of men-dancers in Borobudūr[21] only strengthen our statement that under the Pallavas dancing was not the monopoly of women. Secondly, we learn that the Pallava monarchs patronised co-dancing in their courts.

Besides the king's court, dancing performances were witnessed within temples. These were purely of a religious nature as dancing combined with music formed a part of the religious ritual in a temple. The Muktēśvara temple at Kāñci and the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Śiva temple maintained a number of Aḍigaḷmār evidently for purposes of singing and dancing at the time of divine worship and temple festivals.

The Cōḷas continued the practice of associating Aḍigaḷmār with temples and we have instances of large endowments made in favour of them. One of the Tanjore temple inscriptions tells us that Rājarājadēva transferred a number of women from the several quarters of Cōḷa-maṇḍalam as temple-women of the lord of Śrī Rājarājēśvara and shares were allotted as allowances for them.[22] Altekar points out that this custom prevailed in the Deccan about the eighth century though he is of the opinion that it was not popular till about the 6th century A.D.[23]

Originally this institution maintained high and noble ideals of religious bent, but in course of time, it appears to have degenerated and abandoned the glorious line of conduct framed for it. This institution was so popular that it had extended far beyond the borders of India; and in Marco Polo we find that women-dancers were also connected with Buddhist religious institutions in Greater India.[24] These are described as 'foreign women', who danced and offered food to Buddha.[25]

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[19] Ayōḍhyākāṇḍa, chapter III, line 37. Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta were the palace-dancing-masters in the play *Māḷavikāgnimitra.*

[20] *Śilappadikāram,* p. 80 *et seq.*

[21] *Borobudūr*-Krom, Vol. II, p. 243.

[22] S.I.I., Vol. II, Part III, p. 278.

[23] *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times,* p. 295.

[24] II, p. 236.

[25] Chau-Ju-Kua, p. 53 quoted in Mārco Pōlo, III, p. 115.

We have much evidence attesting the faith of the Pallavas in the divine origin of the dance and their particular devotion to the Lord of Dance, Naṭēśa. The royal author Mahēndravarman, in the beginning of his play *Mattavilāsa* which treats of the Kāpālika sect, aptly invokes Śiva as a Kāpāli and refers to His dance, Tāṇḍava, which comprised the course of the three worlds.[26] On the Tandava dance of Śiva, A. K. Coomaraswami remarks :—" The second well-known dance of Siva is called the *Tāṇḍava* and belongs to His *tamasic* aspect as Bhairava or Vīrabhadra. It is performed in cemeteries and burning grounds where Śiva, usually in ten-armed form, dances wildly with Dēvī, accompanied by troops of capering imps. Representations of this dance are common among ancient sculptures, as at Ellōra, Elephanta and also at Bhuvanēśvara. This Tāṇḍava dance is in origin that of a pre-Āryan divinity, half god, half demon, who holds his midnight revels in the burning ground. In later times, this dance in the cremation ground, sometimes of Śiva, sometimes of Dēvī, is interpreted in Śaiva and Śākta literature in a most touching and profound sense ".[27]

Descriptions of Śiva as a Nṛttamūrti are largely found in the contemporary literature, Tēvārams, and the Pallava sculptors especially of the Kailāsanātha temple, loved to portray Śiva in a few of the most beautiful dancing modes among the hundred and eight [28] enumerated in the Śaiva Āgamas, and in the *Nāṭya Śāstra.* A detailed study of these panels enables us to realise not only the punctilious care with which the sculptors must have studied the *Nāṭya Śāstra,* but also the appeal which these sculptures must have made to those who knew the science and the traditional origin of classic dance.

Talasamsphōṭita mode of dance.

According to Bharata, this mode of dance is described thus:—

" Drutamutkṣipya caraṇam purastādatha pātayēt,
Talasamsphōṭitau hastau talasamsphōṭitau smṛtau :[29]

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26. " Bhāṣāveṣavapuḥ kriyāguṇa kṛtānāśritya bhedān gatam
Bhāvāvēśa vaśādanekarasatām trailōkyayātrāmayam |
Nṛttam niṣpratibaddabōdhamahimā yaḥ prekṣakassa svayam,
Sa vyāptāvanibhājanam diśatu vō divyaḥ Kapālī yaśaḥ " ||
27. Siddhānta-Dīpikā (Vol. XIII, July 1912).
28. " Aṣṭōttaraśatam caitatkaraṇānām mayōditam
Naṭye yudhē niyudhē ca tathā gatiparikramē."
29. Page 127, Verse 130, Nāṭya Śāstra—Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

The dancer, in exemplifying this mode, lifts up one of his feet suddenly and stamps forcibly on the ground, while simultaneously he also claps his hands. Abhinava Gupta adds that in this dance the hand-pose " patākā—hasta " should be adopted. (Pl. VII fig. 14).

The Kailāsanātha sculptors have represented Śiva in this mode of dance on the twelfth shrine of the northern corridor. The divine dancer is seen lifting up his right leg as high as the knee of his left leg which is slightly bent and rests on the floor. With his raised upright foot he is in the act of thumping the ground. He has eight hands; with his right upper hand he holds the head of a coiled sarpa which goes round above his head. The second right hand is characterised by the Jñānamudrā, the third by the patākā-hasta, while the last represents the abhaya-hasta. With his first left hand he holds Gangā who is descending with her hands in añjali; with the next hand he holds the tail of the coiled serpent; in the third is an object which is not easy to identify and the gaja-hasta marks the fourth hand. Śiva wears an ornamental jaṭā-makuṭa and other jewels. Two Gaṇas are dancing at the feet of Śiva and Pārvatī is gracefully seated on his left. In spite of the unwelcome white-wash and later plastering, there is much left to enable us to mark out this sculpture as representing one of the prettiest and most difficult modes of classic dancing.

Lalāṭa-Tilaka mode of dance.

" Vṛścikam caraṇam kṛtvā pādasyānguṣṭhakēna tu |
Lalāṭē tilakam kuryāllalāṭatilakam tu tat." ||[30]

In the performance of this mode of dance, the individual concerned lifts up one of his legs and turns his foot in the form of a Vṛścika with the toe pointing towards his forehead as if in the act of marking a tilaka.

The Pallava sculpture depicting this mode is located on the back wall of Rājasimhēśvaragṛham. The right leg of Śiva is stretched up, his foot bent in the form of a vṛścika and his toe touching his crown. His left leg is planted straight on the ground. He has eight hands in which he carries various objects. In the right upper hand he carries an akṣamālā, the other two palms are held in the patākā pose, while in the fourth right hand he holds a khaḍga. In the left upper hand he carries the valaya, in the next the burning flame, in the other the pāśa and the last palm rests on the head of Nandikēśvara who is also seen happily dancing by the side of Śiva.

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[30] Verse 111, p. 120—Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

Śiva is adorned by a sarpahāra, a jaṭāmakuṭa and other jewels. At the feet of Śiva are two kinnaras; one is playing on a stringed instrument and the other on a flute. On the right and left niches adjoining the central sculpture are the panels representing Brahmā, and Viṣṇu with his consort, who are in the act of paying their adoration to the magnificent dancer.

Lalita mode of Dance.

> "Karihastō bhavēt vāmo dakṣiṇaś ca pravartitaḥ |
> Bahuśaḥ kuṭṭitaḥ pādō jñeyam tallalitam budhaiḥ. ||[31]

The mode of dance technically known as Lalita is portrayed by holding the right hand in the 'gajahasta' pose and the left in the 'pravartita' pose while the leg pose is described as 'nikuṭṭitam.' According to Abhinavagupta 'nikuṭṭitam' is adopted by having one leg resting firmly on the ground while the other resting upon the toe strikes the ground with the heel.

In noting the Lalāṭa-tilaka mode of the dance of Śiva, we said that Nandikēśvara is also dancing by the side of the Lord. Now, it is in the Lalita mode that we see Nandi dancing. With his right hand he has assumed the 'karihasta'; with his left the 'pravartitahasta';[32] his right leg is resting on the toe while his left leg is fixed on the ground.[33] In passing, we may mention that this dance of Nandikēśvara compares well with that of Śiva depicted in the same mode of dance, in the temple at Ellōra.[34]

It is interesting to observe that the popular Nādānta mode of dance of Śiva finds no place in the Kailāsanātha temple or in any other Śiva temple of the Pallava period. But instead, we notice another mode of dance which seems to have been a favourite with the sculptors of the Kailāsanātha temple for it is portrayed in several panels on the walls. Gopinatha Rao, describing this other mode of dance of Śiva, remarks: "This is a kind of dance which is not easy to identify with any one of the hundred and eight standard modes of dance enumerated in the *Nāṭya Śāstra*. In this sculpture, also found in the Kailāsanāthasvamin temple at Conjeevaram, Śiva is seen suddenly assuming in the middle of his dance, a posture similar to the Āliḍhāsana."[35]

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[31] Verse 94, p. 114. *Nāṭya Śāstra,* Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

[32] 'Pravartitahasta' just means 'uplifted arm.'

[33] The sandstone has given way at the bottom of this panel; therefore, very little is left of the left foot both of Śiva and Nandikēśvara.

[34] H. I. Gopinatha Rao—Pl. LXIII, Vol. II, Part I.

[35] H. I. Vol. II, Part I, p. 269.

A close study of the Ślōkas contained in the chapters entitled "Tāṇḍavalaksanam" in the *Nāṭya Śāstra* enlightens us with regard to the identification of the above mode of dance.[36] The descriptions of the kuñcita mode of dance seems to compare well with this favourite mode of the Kailāsanātha sculptors.

Kuñcita mode of dance.

The verse runs as follows:—

"Ādyaḥ pādōñcitaḥ kāryaḥ savyahastaśca kuñcitaḥ |
Uttānō vāma pārśvaśca tat kuñcitamudāhṛtam".[37]

The above verse lays down the prescription for the kuñcita pose. In adopting this mode, the right leg and the right arm should be bent (añcitaḥ); and the left leg and left arm should be raised aloft. One of the many sculptures depicting this pose is found behind the garbhagṛha of Rājasimhēśvaragṛham. This is in perfect agreement with the description of the kuñcita pose just observed.

In this illustration, Śiva has eight hands. In the uppermost right hand he holds the tail of a snake; in the next the ḍamaru. The third hand is bent and the palm is characterised by an abhinayahasta which is not quite easy to identify. The last is held in the añcita pose. The uppermost left hand carries a burning faggot; the second is in the patākāhasta; the third in tripatākā (?) pose and the last is lifted up straight, the palm touching the top of the jaṭā makuṭa. The triśūla and the paraśu are depicted separately, as distinguishing emblems. (Pl. III, fig. 6).

The entire sculpture is set up on a padampīṭha. Below Śiva three gaṇas are seen dancing gleefully. In the niche left to Śiva, Pārvatī is gracefully seated. Below, in the second niche is the couchant bull. On the right of Śiva, there is a dancing figure, while below it there are two gaṇas playing on the lute and the flute.

By a lucky chance, the later addition of plaster has completely peeled off without causing any damage to the original grace and beauty of the panel which now stands revealed in all its excellence.

Rājasimha, an admirer of the aesthetic and artistic merit of the pose, chose it as his favourite for representation. He must have ordered the sculptors to introduce this pose wherever it was possible, without making the repetition being too grossly felt. That

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36. Chapter IV, Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
37. Verse 113, Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

is why we find this pose portrayed frequently on the walls of the temple.

Among the many sculptures depicting this pose there are four magnificent illustrations in four cells forming part of the garbhagṛha. Two of these sculptures are attached to the southern wall and the other two on the northern wall, and two more are located on the same walls in the same line with the mūlavigraha on either side. All the four figures are facing East, and the impressiveness and grandeur of the sculptures do not fail to attract and inspire the entrant.

Rājasimha's great-grandson Mahēndravarman III was also an admirer of the Kuñcita mode of dance. In the shrine which he built in dedication to Śiva—Mahēndravarmēśvara gṛham, in front of Rājasimhēśvara gṛham—there is a magnificent sculpture of dancing Śiva in the Kuñcita mode, found on the southern wall of the antarāla.

All the features characterising this particular mode have been brought out with marked precision. Additional factors which contribute towards rendering the sculpture more attractive and graceful, are the ornaments and flowing loin cloth which have been worked out neatly. There is a garland, armlets and wristlets, śilambu round the ankles and other ornaments. The hands are held in proper poses, one holding the pāśa, another the faggot and a third the tail of a three-hooded serpent. Śiva is depicted in the act of catching two balls which have been thrown up.[38] He seems to have first thrown up the balls and then assumed the necessary pose. One of his hands is held in the patākā pose, preparatory to catching the falling ball between the thumb and the forefinger held close to the other fingers. The other ball is meant to be caught by his palm which is held in the requisite pose.[39]

Kuñcitapāda is one of the attributes of Śiva, for in his Tillai dance he is depicted as holding his left leg bent with toes pointing downwards. This feature has been held popularly to bear some esoteric significance. But in Rājasimha's favourite Kuñcita pose Śiva has been depicted as a reflection of Rājasimha's conception of Śiva as kuñcitapāda. In this representation, the significant leg pose is not the same as that of the Tillai dance.

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[38] We may conceive of these balls as corresponding to 'Ammānais.' It is a popular display of skill by dancers to throw up plates, dishes, pots, ammānais, etc., and then catch them after accomplishing subsidiary feats.

[39] Rae's description of this sculpture is rather disappointing.

Besides the Kailāsanātha temple, we have many other temples of the Pallava period wherein we can see sculptures of dancing Śiva.[40] A profound knowledge and critical appreciation of the Nāṭya Śāstra is clearly revealed by the Pallavas in their representation of the different poses of the divine dancer. The art of dancing was popularised and encouraged in the South by the Pallavas through the medium of these various representations which were a source of inspiration.

The art flourished and developed in South India in the days of their successors, the Cōḷas, between the 9th and 13th centuries. An examination of a few of the typical Cōḷa temples is enough to provide ample material for a scientific and systematic study of the classic dance under them. The basements of the Śiva temples of Tribhuvanam and Dārāsuram are adorned with sculptures of women-dancers enclosed in various compartments. Each compartment contains a representation of either a single dancer, double dancers, or in some cases, even three dancers, who are invariably accompanied by the usual drummers and musicians. While these sculptures serve as a decorative motif for the basement of the temple, they reveal the knowledge and practice of dancing that prevailed in the days of the Cōḷas.

This feature of the Cōḷa temples is fully magnified in Cidambaram in the Kōpperunjiṅgadēva gōpura, where we have more than a hundred sculptures each of which bears below the description from Bharata of the mode of dance which it depicts.[41] The basements of the prākāra of the Amman shrine in Cidambaram as well as those of several subsidiary shrines built in the different periods of Cōḷa rule and during the rule of subsequent dynasties also contain beautiful sculptural representations of dancing; all of which tend to magnify the glory of this art in the abode of Naṭarāja.

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[40] Airāvatēśvara temple—Plate CXVIII, fig. 3.—Rea's Pallava Architecture; Tripurāntakēśvara temple—Panel in Ardhamaṇḍapa.—Plate CIX, fig. 1; Matangēśvara temple—Panel at right of porch.—Plate XCVII, fig. 2; Muktēśvara temple—Panel at right of porch, same plate, fig. 1. A sculpture of Śiva depicting him in the Lalāṭa-tilaka mode of dance, is contained in the Iravāsthānēśvara temple at Kāñcī, Pl. V, fig. 10. The sculpture presents no sign of damage by any kind of plaster-work. The original chiselling on the hard stone is intact and it appeals to the observer forcibly, evoking admiration. The architectural style and plan of the temple stamp it as a Pallava shrine, though it has not been noted by Rae, in his *Pallava Architecture.*

[41] These sculptures and their labels have been copied by the Epigraphists in 1914. Photographic representations in *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇam* by B. V. N. Naidu (Madras, 1936).

CHAPTER XIX

PAINTING

It is generally believed that Indian painting originated from kings' courts and that it was one of the chief occupations of princes and princesses. The Pallava Court which was open to the best artists of the day must have patronised skilled painters also. The greatest of the Pallava kings, Mahēndravarman, had a personal taste for painting. This 'citrakārapuli', i.e., 'tiger among painters,' was probably author of a treatise on South Indian Painting as evidenced by the mention of 'Dakṣiṇa-citra' in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription.

The places that contain Pallava Painting

For an appreciation of the art of painting in the days of the Pallavas, we have to enter the abodes of their gods, namely, the cave-temples and the structural monuments. Māmallapuram, Māmaṇḍūr, Armamalai, Śittannavāśal, Kāñcī and Malayaḍippaṭṭi are the places[1] which contain fragments of paintings which are the earliest specimens of frescoes extant in South India.

Māmallapuram and Māmaṇḍūr

The French scholar Dubreuil remarks:—"Some traces of colour found at Mahābalipuram and at Māmaṇḍūr gave room for suspicion that these monuments had been painted but these remains were quite insufficient to enable us to understand the art of Pallava Painting."[2] Though Dubreuil is correct in his conclusion, he does not specify the spots where he saw the paintings. At Māmallapuram, the only shrine which exhibits any traces of painting is the famous Ādi Varāha cave where we have in bas-relief two Pallava kings with their queens. Unfortunately, a modern structure constructed in front of the cave has cut off all light from the shrine and therefore one can inspect the walls only with the help of an artificial light.

The central figure on the back wall of the cave is a relief of the 'Varāha Avatār' of Viṣṇu and is under worship. The entire relief is covered with bright painting which appears to be very modern. But patches of old colours on the Durgā image in the same cave, certain faint traces of painted designs on the ceiling just above the Durgā relief,[3] and also traces of colour on the rear portion of two of the lion pillars, parts of which are built in with brick walls, lead us to conclude that the sculptures and parts of the Varāha cave must have been painted some time in the Pallava period. For, the colour effect compares well with those found in Śittannavāśal and at Māmaṇḍūr.

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[1] I have named these places in the order of the discovery of the paintings therein.

[2] Indian Ant., Vol. LII, p. 45.

The façades and pillars of two caves in Māmaṇḍūr[4] must have been fully painted, for at every six inches we observe patches of painting. The predominating colours are deep red and deep green and these colours are painted in vertical bands alternating among themselves, with free unpainted portions of the stone lintel in the middle and thus forming a simple decoration by themselves. The lotus flowers that adorn the cubical portions of the pillars of one of the caves also exhibit traces of colour on them.

Paintings in Armamalai.

Armamalai is a hill in the Guḍiyāttam Taluk of the North Arcot District and the cavern on the hill is, according to Dubreuil, a Pallava one. He describes "It is a natural cave, sufficiently spacious, at the bottom of which there is a reservoir of water.

"Unfortunately, there is not any ancient inscription on it.

"It is certain that this cavern contained a shrine at the time of the Pallavas, for we find there two stones on which dvārapālas, armed with clubs, have been carved. Their costume, their ornaments and their form show for certain that these bas-reliefs belong to the Pallava period. The design, however, is very archaic and it is probable that these images are the oldest sculptures that could be attributed to the Pallavas.

As these dvārapālas are adorned with serpents, it is highly probable that the shrine was dedicated to Śiva."

Regarding the painting he says:—"On the rock which overhangs and thus forms the roof of the cavern, we see numerous traces of paintings. Unfortunately, it is impossible to find out what they represent, except in one place where we perfectly recognise the lotuses and the creepers."

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[3] Owing to the utter darkness that prevails within the cave I was unable to make tracings of these painted designs.

[4] I have visited Māmaṇḍūr and have examined carefully all the four caves.

Sittannavāśal frescoes.

The Śittannavāśal frescoes which are of great aesthetic merit were discovered by the late Gopinatha Rao but the first impressions of these paintings were given to the world by Dubreuil.[5] It is definitely known that the Śittannavāśal[6] cave is dedicated to Jaina Tīrthankaṛas[7] and that it belongs to the time of Mahēndravarman I who was also a Jain for some time in his early life.

Originally the whole cave must have been decorated with colours but now we see only fragments of paintings on the ceilings, on the capitals, and on the upper or cubical parts of the pillars.

Subject-matter of these frescoes.

The decoration of the capitals of the two pillars of the façade is in a good state of preservation and consists of blooming lotuses which is also the chief decorative motif in the entire cave. As we enter the sacred shrine, the upper cubical portions of the front pillars capture our eyes for they contain paintings of two of the well-known dancing poses described in the *Nāṭya Śāstra.*

Both these figures are treated with singular grace and charm. The one on the right is better preserved than the one on the left pillar.[8]

The coiffure of this dancer is very artistically done. The hair is parted in the middle, taken up and is dressed up in a sort of dhamillam which is adorned with a few jewels in the centre but mostly decorated with beautiful clusters of coloured flowers, lotus-petals and tender leaves. The ear ornaments are shaped in the fashion of rings and seem to be set with precious gems. The neck jewels are of various kinds but are very artistic. A few armlets and wristlets are also worn by the dancer. We see on her finger two rings, one on the little finger of the right hand and the other on the thumb of the same hand. Of the two upper garments, one is loosely tied round the waist of the dancer and the other is thrown round the shoulder in a very artistic manner and the frills of this garment are most marvellously depicted by the artist.

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[5] Ind. Ant., LII, p. 45.

[6] Mr. Ramachandran thinks that the name of the village Sittannavāśal is the Tamil form of Sanskrit 'Siddhānām-vāsaḥ" that is, the abode of the Siddhas or ascetics, which in Prakrit will be "Siddhanna-vāsa"—J.O.R.M., 1933, p. 241.

[7] Mehta agrees that the Śittannavāśal cave is a Jaina shrine but fails to see that a part of these paintings relate to Jaina theology. *Indian Painting,* pp. 10-12.

[8] I think Dubreuil has made an inadvertent mistake in noting that the one on the left is better preserved.

The dancer on the left pillar is more graceful and more delicate than the one above. The coiffure of this dancer is slightly different but the other jewels on the body are almost the same as those of the other dancer. The absence of nose-rings on both these dancers is a note-worthy point. Here we may observe that none of the Pallava queens depicted in sculpture wears a nose-ring. The garments on this dancer are not visible as this portion of the painting is faded.

Of one of the dancers, Dubreuil opines:—"This charming dancing-girl is a devadāsī of the temple, for in the seventh century, the Jains and Buddhists had come to terms with God in regard to the introduction of dancing-girls into their austere religion."[9] I do not think Dubreuil was right in concluding that they were devadāsīs of the temple; they cannot be conceived of as any other than divine dancers (apsarases) who are commonly depicted in sculptures and paintings of ancient Budhhist and Jain monuments. For examples of these we have only to turn to the excellent photographs of dancers produced by Krom in his Borobudur and to some of the plates of Mr. Ramachandran's *"Tirupparuttikkunṟam"* showing scenes from the life of Vardhamāna.[10]

On the inner side of the cubical portion of the pillar on the right, we have the painting of the busts of a king and queen. Between their heads we see traces of a painted pilaster. The king wears a beautifully ornamented high coronet having five vertical protrusions perhaps representing the five elements and also a crescent in the middle. He wears patrakuṇḍalas in both ears and a few necklaces. His is undoubtedly an imposing and impressive figure. The facial expression, the charming eyes and the curve of the chin so closely resemble those of the great king Mahēndravarman in the Vāraha cave at Māmallapuram that we have no hesitation in identifying this painted bust as that of Mahēndravarman himself, Pl. VIII, fig. 16.

The lady by his side must be a queen of Mahēndravarman. She has dressed her hair in a sort of top-knot or dhammilla. Mēhta, describing the male figure, said that it represents Ardhanārīśvara. He says:—"It is an impressive study of the great Mahādēva showing the strength of delineation and directness of treatment which belonged to the palmy days of Ajanta and Bagh."[11]

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[9] Ind. Ant., LII, p. 46.

[10] Plates XXII, 57 and 58.

[11] *Indian Painting*, p. 12.

The tracing which we have reproduced directly contradicts Mehta's conclusions, firstly because we have not so far come across Ardhanārīśvara represented in this fashion either in sculpture or in painting ; and secondly because Ardhanārī has no place in a Jaina temple.

The principal subject-matter that is in a fairly good condition is the "grand fresco which adorns the whole ceiling of the verandah". It is a lotus tank which is covered with lotuses and lotus leaves. Between these are seen fishes, swans, buffaloes, elephants and three Jains, two holding lotus flowers and the third depicted in the act of gathering flowers with a flower-basket hanging in his left arm.

Dubreuil said that "this subject of a lotus tank" was probably a scene from the religious history of the Jains. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran has attempted to explain the tank as a representation of the region of water called "Khaṭikā-bhūmi" and forming part of Samavasaraṇa celebrated in Jaina theology[12] and cites the *Śrī Purāṇa* in support of the identification. While it should be conceded that the description in the *Śrī Purāṇa* as summarised by Mr. Ramachandran fits our tank very well, yet there is nothing to suggest that the scene depicted was meant to form part of a larger whole, and a comparison of the painting of Samavasaraṇa scenes reproduced by him with our painting, is calculated to raise serious doubts if one such subject would, in spite of the centuries of interval, be depicted in such different ways.

Open to fewer objections, but not quite free from difficulty, is the attempt to connect the tank of our painting with the well-known discourse on "the lotus" which stands at the commencement of the second book of the *Sūtrakṛtānga*.[13] In that parable, the lake symbolises the world, the water karman, and the many lotuses, people in general ; the one big lotus represents the king and the men are heretical teachers.[14] But this interpretation is also as stated already, not free from difficulties. For, while the tank is represented on the ceiling of the outer verandah, the one big white lotus is in the centre of the ceiling, of the shrine chamber in front of Mahāvīra.

Again, instead of four men, we find only three in our picture, and the colour of the lotuses is red, not white as it should be according to the parable. Either in spite of these differences we have to accept this interpretation that the painting represents the parable relating to samsāra or we must simply accept the tank as the lotus tank of Triśalā's dream "adorned with water lilies and abounding with swarms of aquatic animals." But this view, it will be seen, leaves the men, the elephants and perhaps even the bulls—for Triśalā dreamt of only one luckly bull—unexplained. On any view, the subject-matter of the painting on the ceiling of the verandah is religious and possibly symbolic.

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[12] J.O.R., VII, pp. 243-44, *Tirupparuttikkunṟam and its temples*, p. 62.

[13] By S. R. Balasubramanyan in an article in J.O.R.M., Vol. IX, p. 83.

[14] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 45, p. 338.

The fragments of paintings on the ceiling of the sanctum have not been described before. Pl. IX, fig. 17. Mr. Longhurst however, has recently remarked: The sanctum ceiling was originally decorated with the usual floral and geometrical patterns in the colours named above and does not appear to have been of any particular artistic merit."[15] That this is not the correct impression will be borne out by the description which we shall give below.[16]

The chief colour used in the painting of the ceiling of the sanctuary is red. The centre of the ceiling contains a big lotus carved and painted in red. The rest of the ceiling is occupied by one complex motif repeated several times. This motif may be described thus: There are four smaller squares inserted at the four corners of a larger one. Inside each of these smaller squares we have a blossomed lotus enclosed by a frame. Curved ornamental bands of the same width as the frame of the lotuses connect these four squares, the whole design again presenting a form of blossomed lotus. A trident is inserted in the blank spaces enclosed by the curved bands and adjacent to each of the squares. The central space of the whole design is occupied by an artistic svastika. The four quadrants of the svastika are taken up by two seated arhats, a goat and a lion.

The whole of this design is, as already observed, repeated several times and though it is now seen only on certain parts of the ceiling, there can be little doubt that originally they occupied the whole of it.

Let us now make a few remarks about the svastika, the arhats, the animals, the trident and the lotus which make up the design of the painting on the ceiling. The svastika which is also called the 'gammate cross' or the 'gammadion', was an universal emblem adopted by all ancient religious sects from time to time. The usual and the most popular representation of the svastika is a clockwise fylfot.[17] A study of this emblem clearly indicates that there were different forms of the svastika and that its significance was variously interpreted. The svastika that we see on the ceiling of this shrine is not the popular form. It is made up of a cross with the four ends artistically rounded with small curves. It may be said to resemble in a way the 'Ujjain' symbol[18] found on the coins of the Andhras.

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[15] *Annual Bibliography of the Kern Institute* 1930, p. 11.

[16] I secured very accurate tracings of this painted design from Mr. Venkatarangam Raju of the State Museum.

The Jainas of India like the Buddhists adopted the svastika as one of their emblems. Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi, a delegate to the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, gave Mr. Thomas Wilson the following information relating to the svastika in India, and especially among the Jains[19]:—"The svastika is misinterpreted by the so-called western expounders of our ancient Jain Philosophy. The original idea was very high, but later on some persons thought the cross represented only the combination of the male and the female principles...... ".

"We, Jains, make the svastika sign when we enter our temple of worship. This sign reminds us of the great principles represented by the three jewels and by which we ought to reach the ultimate good. Those symbols intensify our thoughts and make them more permanent."

According to Mr. Gandhi, the Jains make the sign of the svastika as frequently and as deftly as the Roman Catholics make the sign of the cross. It is not confined to the temple nor to the priests nor monks. Whenever or wherever a benediction or blessing is given, the svastika is used.[20]

Of the twenty-four Jaina Tīrthankaras, the seventh,[21] that is Supārśvanātha, son of Pratiṣṭha by Pṛthvī, had for his sign the svastika. It is interesting that one of the two Tīrthankaras occupying the verandah of our Jain temple is Supārśvanātha. Further,

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17. T. Wilson, *The Svastika*; *The migration of Symbols,* D'Alviella.
18. Rapson *Andhra Coins.*
19. *The Svastika,* Thos. Wilson, p. 893.
20. A description and an illustration of the modern Jain svastika is given in Wilson's book, p. 804.
21. *Asiatic Researches,* London, Vol. IX, p. 306; and "Ind. Ant." 1881, pp. 67-68.

according to the Jaina sutras “Duḥsamasuṣamā” (sorrow-bliss) is one of the six periods of the era in which piety and truth decreased and men could not obtain dēvakula. It is also said that in this period people may take re-birth and fall under any of the four gatis which is indicated by the svastika. Evidently, each of the four arms of the svastika represented hell, heaven, man and beast respectively.[22]

The svastika is also mentioned among the aṣṭamangalas—eight (kinds of) auspicious marks that attend the procession of a Tirthankara Siddha.[23] Sudarśana Ara or Aranātha or the eighteenth Tīrthankara has for his emblem ‘Nandavarta’, a symbol which is characterised by Svastika in the middle.[24] These references sufficiently explain the importance of the svastika among the Jains.

For an explanation of the Jain arhats and the animals surmounting the svastika, the only suggestion that is possible at present is that the arhat figure above the goat represents perhaps Kunṭhanātha,[25] the seventeenth Tīrthankara whose emblem was a goat. The arhat above the lion perhaps stands for Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthankara whose emblem was a lion.[26]

The triśūla (tri-three, and śūla-point) as an important attribute of Śiva, is a familiar object among the Hindus. The Buddhists also adopted it as one of their emblems.[27] Beal says that amongst the Buddhists of the North the triśūla personifies the heaven of pure flame superposed upon the heaven of the sun.[28] Whether among the Jains the trīśūla played as much an important part as the svastika, I am unable to state at present, but that it was found among their emblems is certain.

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[22] S.B.E., Vol. XXII, pp. 189 and 218. *Tirupparuttikunṟam and its temples*, p. 168.

[23] In S.B.E., XXII, p. 190 we read:—Ascetic Mahāvīra descended from the great Vimāna, the all-victorious and all-prosperous Pushpottara, which is like the lotus amongst the best (and highest flowers) and like the svastika and Vardhamānaka amongst the celestial regions where he had lived for twenty Sāgarōpamas till the termination of his allotted length of life, (divine) nature and existence (among gods).

[24] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, p. 308.

[25] “Cunthu” was son of Sūra, by Śrī; he has a goat for his mark.” *Asiatic Researches*, IX, p. 308.

[26] *Asiatic Researches*, IX, p. 310.

[27] *The Bhilasa topes*, pl. XXXII, fig. 8; *Borobudur*, Atlas, pl. CCLXXX, fig. 100.

[28] *A catena of Buddhist Scriptures from China*, p. 11.

The Yakṣas of the seventh, ninth and the eleventh Tīrthankaras have each in his hand a triśūla.[29] The general significance of the triśūla among the Jains is not very clear. Perhaps the emblem symbolised the triratna.

The lotus which every morning opens under the first rays of that luminary to close again at eventide is usually adopted as a symbol of the sun but it is also maintained that the lotus is a very ancient and a favourite symbol of the cosmos itself and also of man.[30] Whatever its significance the lotus was a popular symbol adopted by every religious sect in India including the Jains and in the Śittannavāśal paintings we see it as the chief decorative motif.[31]

Colours used in the Śittannavāśal frescoes

The Śittannavāśal paintings were done in vegetable colour. The colours used were very few,—red, yellow, green, black and the colour scheme is simple and harmonious and the background is generally either red or green. As observed by Mr. Longhurst, very little attempt at shading was made. It is agreed by all that the Pallava paintings in Śittannavaśal are as good as the paintings in Ajanta caves. Dubreuil says:—"For my part it was impossible to make an exact copy of these paintings whose charms consist in the versatility of the design, the gradation of colouring with the half-tones and the light and shade."

Kailāsanātha paintings, Kāñcī

Traces of Pallava painting in the Kailasānātha temple at Kāñcī were discovered by Dubreuil īn 1931. Mr. Sarma has published copies of the same in 'Triveṇī' and in 'Kalaimagaḷ'.[32] There are altogether more than fifty cells around the inner courtyard of Rājasimhēśvaragṛham. Each of these cells shows traces of painting and several sculptures have also on them colours of red and green. Cell No. 18 on the southern corridor has a painting of the head of a man. Several other painted faces are also visible in a few cells. The sharp and clear outline, the bright and rich colouring are noticeable features of the paintings in this temple.

The Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ paintings, Kāñci.

A careful examination of the Vimāna of the temple reveals fragments of paintings in rich colours. There is no doubt that originally all the kūḍus of the Vimāna were painted and except some floral designs and motifs, the subject matter of these paintings cannot be made out. The technique of the painting is the same as that of the Kailāsanātha. The paintings must have been done sometime soon after the building of the temple by Pallavamalla.

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[29] D' Alviella, *Migration of Symbols*, pp. 239-240.
[30] *The Theosophist*, 1904, p. 163.
[31] See Note K.
[32] Vol. V, 1933.

Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi Paintings

Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi, also called Bhāradvāja āśramam, is in the Pudukkottah State. The place is famous for its rock-hewn temples, one dedicated to Viṣṇu and the other to Śiva. Dr. Vogel has recently reported the discovery[33] by Mr. Venkatarangam Raju, the Curator of the Pudukkottah Museum, of Pallava paintings in the Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi Viṣṇu cave.[34] He writes: "The rock-hewn shrine in question is a Viṣṇu temple founded by the Pallava king Dantivarman in the 16th year of his reign." This is a mistake.[35] The inscription of Dantivarman dated in his 16th year and recording the excavation of the cave by a Muttaraiya chief is found on the pillar of the Śiva cave and not on the Viṣṇu cave. The latter is excavated in a different style and presents a plan of later date. The pillars have lion bases resembling those of the pillars of the early Cōḷa period. Therefore, I consider that the cave and its paintings belong to a later date than that of Dantivarma Pallava.

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[33] *Annual Bibliography of Ind. Archaeology* 1930, p. 16-18.

[34] Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi, a village 8 miles from Kīranūr in the Pudukkottah State.

[35] I have visited Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi and have carefully examined the caves.

NOTE K—" *Samavasaraṇa.*"

Apart from the descriptions and the interpretations which I have given of the painting on the sanctum sanctorum of the Śittannavāśal cave, it seems to me that there is yet another interpretation of the painting on the sanctum ceiling, and that here we may properly think of the Samavasaraṇa. Several theological works of the Jains contain descriptions of 'Samavasaraṇa'. To name a few of them, Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭhi—Śalākāpuruṣa—Caritra (first and second Parvas) published by the Sri-Jaina-Dharma-Pracāraka-Sabhā of Bhavanagar, and Dharmaghoṣa Sūri's *Samava-saraṇa stavana.* A few Purāṇas of the Digambara Jains such as *Śrī Purāṇa, Merumandara Purana* and *Ādi Purāṇa* also describe 'Samavasarana.'

The descriptions of 'Samavasaraṇa' in the various works differ in detail. But a summarised account of the significance of Samavasaraṇa is found in an article by Dr. Bhandarkar. He remarks: "......the Samavasaraṇa is a structure constructed by an Indra, and, in default of him by the gods, and pre-eminently amongst them, the Vyantaras. The structure is intended for the delivering of religious discourse by a Jina, immediately after his attainment to the condition of a kevalin. Each Jina had thus his own Samavasaraṇa; and, like all other objects, sacred to these Jinas, such as Aṣṭāpāda, Śatruñjaya and so forth, Samavasaraṇa is also sculptured. Not a single Jaina temple of eminence exists without a sculpture of Samavasaraṇa in it.

"It is worthy of note, that like the Caumukh or Aṣṭapada, even temples are built dedicated to Samavasaraṇa."[36]

Part of the paintings of some of the Jain shrines in South India such as Tirumalai (North Arcot) and Tirupparuttikunṟam in Kāñcī depict Samavasaraṇa. These evidently belong to a later period and if the Śittannavasal paintings on the sanctum ceiling may be interpreted as representing Samavasaraṇa it would be the earliest representation of the sacred object known so far.

This fragmentary painting of the Śittannavāśal cave may be compared with that of the one in Tirupparuttikunṟam discussed by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran.[37]

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[36] Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 160.

[37] *Tirupparuttikunṟam and its temples,* Bull, Madras Govt. Museum.

CHAPTER XX

LITERATURE

The period of the Pallavas was a period of great literary activity. The early kings patronised Sanskrit literature. Poets like Bhāravi and Daṇḍin lived in their courts. The very praśastis contained in their copper plates indicate the height of Sanskrit culture in the period. Mahēndravarman himself was a writer of Sanskrit plays. The *Mattavilāsa*, a prahasana (comic opera), was composed by him. The *Bhagavadajjukam*[1] attributed to him is another prahasana. It is doubtful if Mahēndra wrote it.

Tamil literature also was patronised by the kings. The Tēvāram composers lived in the period. Appar and Sambandar were the contemporaries of Mahēndravarman I. The discussion which follows definitely fixes the date of Sundaramūrtti and this throws some light on the History of the Pallavas.

Sundarar and his contemporary Pallava King

The first half of the ninth century which is the date generally assigned to Sundarar seems to receive confirmation from his own padigam "Tiruttoṇḍattogai" where he describes among other Śiva bhaktas "Kadal śūḻnda ulakēlām kākkinṟa perumān kāḍavarkōn kaḻar-cingan"—that is, the Kāḍava king, Śingan, with the kalaḻ (anklet),[2] who is guarding the entire world surrounded by the sea. The mention of him as Kāḍavarkōn leads us to believe that he was a Pallava king, probably a contemporary of the Saint.[3]

The following points must be satisfied by an attempt to identify this monarch. Firstly, the Pallava king must be a sufficiently prominent ruler; it would be well if it could be shown that his activities extended beyond the seas to justify the description "Kaḍal śūḻnda ulagelām kākkinṟa perumān." Secondly, 'Kaḻal Śingan'[4] undoubtedly implies that he was a warrior king. Thirdly, this Kāḍavarkōn must have also been a great devotee of Śiva in order to receive such an encomium from Sundarar.

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[1] See A Note on Bhagavad ajjukam by Venkatrāma Śarma, BSOS, V.

[2] In the *Periyapurāṇam*, Sundarar is mentioned as the protege of a certain Naraśingamunaiyaraiyan, the ruler of Tirumunaippāḍi. Evidently, Narasingamunaiyar was a feudatory of the Pallava king.

[3] Pandit M. Rāghava Iyengar identifies "Kaḻal śingan" with Rājasimha. This is untenable as Sundarar cannot be assigned to an earlier date than the first half of the 9th century—*Āḻvārkaḷ kālanilai*, pp. 135-136.

[4] Kaḻal-Vīrakkaḻal—anklet given as a token of honour to a warrior. Śingan—a lion among warriors.

Now, the king who best satisfies all these points seems to be Nandivarman III who may be said to have ruled the Pallava kingdom between the years 840-865 A.D. Let us proceed to consider the points raised above. We have no direct evidence to assert that Nandivarman III extended his sway beyond the seas by conquest. However, we find that the economic relations of South India with the outside world were well established in the 9th century A.D. From the *Nandikkalambakam* we learn that Nandi was a master of a navy and from the inscriptions of his period it is clear that he encouraged external trade. The maritime relations of this period are further corroborated by an inscription in Siam which mentions a tank called Avani Nāraṇam, evidently named after Nandi varman III. These points have been discussed clearly by Professor Nilakanta Śāstri in editing the Takuapā inscription from Siam. He has also suggested that the builder of the tank was probably a prominent noble from Nāngūr in South India, who "went over to Takua-Pā and became the author of some charitable works in that locality. The name he gave to the tank was reminiscent of the political allegiance he owed to Nandivarman III."[5]

These observations are sufficient indications to explain the description "Kāḍal śūḻnda ulagelām kākkinṟa perumān."

Regarding "Kaḻal Śingan" a better description than this, of the victor of Teḷḷāṟu, cannot be sought. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant and the Bāhūr plates glorify Nandivarman as a great warrior. Further, his own inscriptions which attribute to him the epithet 'Teḷḷāṟeṟinda Nandivarman', the very object of the Kalambakam, and the introductory verse in the 'Bhārata Veṇbā', establish his fame as a victor. Besides, in the Kalambakam we read: "Araikkaḻal muḍitta Avani Nāraṇan."[6] Again, we have "Kurai kaḻal Vīra Nandi"[7]—that is, the heroic Nandi (who wears a) jingling kaḻal—and in another place we find him described as the lion among the Pallava kings—"Pallava kōḷari."[8] Thus the name 'Kaḻal Śingan' noticed in Sundarar's poem is supported by these phrases in the Kalambakam.

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5. J.O.R., Madras, Vol. VI, p. 300.

6. Verse 66, Nandikkalambagam, Avaninārāṇan who wears the victorious anklets.

7. Verse 28.

8. Verse 59.

That Nandivarman was a great Śaiva devotee is evident not only from the epigraphy of the period but also from the Kalambakam where he is spoken of as one whose mind is always concentrated on Śiva: "Śivanai muḻudum maṟavāda cintaiyan."[9]

Other facts may be adduced in support of the view that 'Kaḻal Śingan' of Sundarar was Nandivarman III. The *Periyapurāṇam* relates that 'Kaḻal Śingan' was a Pallava king who distinguished himself by invading the northern regions and defeating the kings of the North.[10] Similarly the Kalambakam furnishes the information that besides the Cēra, Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kings, the kings of the North also paid tribute to the Pallava king Nandivarman—"Cēra Cōḷarum Tennarum Vaḍapulattaraśarum tiṟai tanda."[11] We may endeavour to identify the northern enemies of Nandivarman. In the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates we have a striking verse which runs thus:—

> "Utkhātakhaḍga nihatadvipa kumbha mukta—muktāphala
> prapasitē (prahasite) samarāṅgaṇe yaḥ,
> Śatrūnnihatya samavāpadananya labhyām rājyaśriyam
> svabhujavikramadarpaśālī."

"This (Nandivarman) puffed up with the prowess of his arms, acquired the prosperity of the Pallava kingdom, not easy for others to obtain, by killing (his) enemies on the battlefield which was laughing (as it were) with pearls dropping from the frontal globes of elephants slain by (his) unsheathed sword."

Commenting on this, Mr. Krishna Śāstri says: "From this we may infer that the sovereignty over the Pallava kingdom had now been keenly contested either by outsiders or by some direct descendants of the Simhaviṣṇu line."

The victory of Nandivarman over his enemies described above seems to be for more than one reason different from the battle of Teḷḷāṟu. The plates under reference belong to the early part of Nandivarman's rule being dated the sixth year of his reign; further, the absence of the mention of the battle of Teḷḷāṟu is conspicuous in this important copper plate especially when we see that the stone inscriptions of Nandivarman add the epithet "Teḷḷāṟu eṟinda Nandi."

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[9] Verse 97.

[10] "Paḍimiśai nikaḻnda tollaip Pallavar kulattu vandār
Kaḍimadil mūnṟum śeṟṟa Gangaivārśaḍaiyār śeyya
Aḍimalar anṟi vēṟōnṟarivinir kuṟiyā nīrmaik
Koḍineḍundānai mannar kōkkaḻar cingar embār."

[11] "Kāḍavar kuriśil aran kaḻar perum Cinganārtām
Āḍagamēru villār aruḷinār amarir cenṟu
Kūḍalār munaigaḷ śāya vaḍapulaṅkavarndu koṇḍu
Nāḍaṟā neṟiyil vaiga nanneṟi vaḷarkku nāḷil."

As the earliest of such stone inscriptions is dated in the tenth year of his reign,[12] we may conclude that Nandivarman must have overcome his enemies at Teḷḷāṟu sometime between the sixth and the tenth years of his rule. It is not unlikely that his victory over the northern kings preceded his success over the southern kings at Teḷḷāṟu.

The chief enemy who rose against the Pallavas at this time must have been the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas. The relations of the Pallava king Dantivarman, the father of Nandivarman, with the Raṣṭra-kūṭas were far from friendly. A grant[13] of the contemporary Raṣṭra-kūṭa king states that Gōvinda III conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñcī. It also makes clear that Gōvinda III came twice as far as Tungabhadrā, once to defeat the Pallava king and a second time to claim tribute from him. Fleet identifies Dantiga of this inscription with Dantivarman the Pallava king. The fact of Gōvinda claiming tribute from the Pallava king is corroborated by the statements contained in the Maṉṉe grant dated 802 A.D., the Badanaguppē grant of 808 A.D. and the Vāṇidindori plates dated 808 A.D.[14] The first two records relate that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king subjugated the Ganga king, Māraśarva,[15] the Pallava, the Vēngi, the Gurjara and the Māḷava kings. It thus becomes evident that the chief northern enemy of Nandivarman III was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa against whom the Pallava king led an invasion soon after he ascended the throne of Kāñcī, to liberate his kingdom from the payment of the tribute. This is implied in the phrase "rājyaśriyam samavāpat."

It is interesting to gather information regarding the scene of the battle between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pallavas from the contents of the verses in the Kalambakam. In the beginning of the work we read that Nandivarman captured a place called Kurukkōṭṭai.[16] This is again repeated in verses 35, 44 & 84. In the latter we read Kurugōḍu instead of Kurukkōṭṭai. We may without any hesitation identify Kurugōḍu or Kurukkōṭṭai of the Kalambakam with Kurugōḍu in the Bellary Taluk of the Bellary District where there are several ruins consisting of beautiful temples of the Cāḷukya style of architecture and a fine fort on a hill.[17]

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[12] An inscription from Lālguḍi dated in the 4th year of Nandivarman III calls him "Teḷḷāṟeṟinda" but this has been proved to be a spurious stone epigraph by Prof. K. A. Nilakaṇṭha Śāstri. See Ep. Ind., vol. XX, and Journal of Ind. History, vol. XI, part I.

[13] Ind. Ant., vol. XI, p. 126.

[14] Ibid., p. 158.

[15] Altēkar has opined that Māraśarva was a petty ruler of Sarbhon in Bharoch district. "*Rāṣṭrakūtas and their times*"—pp. 67 et seq.

If the identification of Kurugōḍu suggested above is accepted, some interesting results will follow; and one of the dark spots of South Indian history will be illuminated. In the Koḍumbālūr inscription of Vikramakēsari, his grandfather is called "Vātāpijit," the conqueror of Vātāpi. This epithet applied to a chieftain who must have lived in the middle of the ninth century, has baffled scholars so far.[18] The suggestion may now be made that Paradurgamardana was present as a feudatory of Nandivarman III in the army that fought the northern campaign. And also that he earned the little Vātāpijit either because the Cāḷukya feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler took part in the campaign round Kurugōḍu[19] and was defeated by the southern chieftain, or because after the battle in which the Ṛaṣṭrakūṭas were defeated, there was an actual raid on Vātāpi in which Paradurgamardana took part. We thus find that a careful study of contemporary epigraphy and literature, bears out the account given by the *Periyapurāṇam* of the conquest of the northern kings by Kaḻar-Śingan.

This northern expedition indirectly throws light on the cause of the coalition of the southern kings against Nandivarman. The successful raid of the Pallava king against his northern foes was enough at once to rouse the jealousy of the southern kings, and give them an opportunity to join together under the Pāṇḍya leadership for a fight against the Pallava king, on his return from the north.

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[16] "Enadē kalaivaḷaiyu mennadē mannar
Śinavēru sendanikkō Nandi—yinavēlan
Kōmarukiṟ cīrik Kurukkōṭṭai venṟāḍum
Pūmarugiṟ pōkāppoḻudu.
—verse 2, p. 3.

[17] *Bellary Gazetteer*—pp. 231 et seq.

[18] J.O.R., vol. VII, part I, pp. 1-10. Fr. Heras boldly assigns the inscription to the 7th century A.D. (J.R.A.S., 1934); but for a conclusive answer to his arguments see J.R.A.S., July 1935, which contains an article by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri on "The date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari".

[19] Kurugōḍu was the capital of Ballakuṇḍa 300 and long associated with the Cāḷukyas. *Bellary Gazetteer*, pp. 27, 29-30. It may be merely the capture of Kurugōḍu, that led Paradurgamardhana to assume this title—'Vātāpijit'.

The Kalambakam speaks of several enemies who were defeated at Teḻḻāṟu. In one of the last verses we have a full confirmation of the coalition of the southern kings against Nandi. It reads thus :

> "Kula vīrar-āgam-aḻiyat
> Tambiyar—eṇṇam—ellām paḻudāga venṟa talai māna vīrattuvaśan
> Śembiyar Tennar Cēraredir vandu māya ceruvenṟa" etc.

The great hero (Nandi) conquered the hereditary warriors so as to destroy the intentions of his younger brother and opposed the Śembiyan (Cōḷa), the Tennavan (the Pāṇḍya) and the Cērar who faced him in battle. From this we infer that the three hereditary kings of the south helped the cause of an unknown brother of Nandivarman. It is probable that this brother of Nandi belonged to the collateral branch, that is, to the line of Simhaviṣṇu and now being jealous of his powerful brother and taking advantage of Nandivarman's absence from the south, conspired against him and joined the coalition of the Southern kings just as on a former occasion Citramāya did against Nandivarman II.[20]

The coalition of the Southern kings against Nandi and the defeat of the former by the latter are further strengthened by Sundarar. In his padigam on the god at Śiṟṟambalam he makes a reference to the Pallava king. He says :—" (Here in Śiṟṟambalam) resides the God who punished those kings who refused to pay the tribute due to the Pallava king—" Urimaiyāṟ Pallavarkuttiṟaikoḍā mannavarai maṟukkañjeyyum, Perumaiyāṟ puliyūrccirrambalattemberu-mānaippeṟṟāmanṟē." Here is clearly a reference to the refusal of the southern kings to recognise the Pallava ruler. Again, we have another verse of Sundarar where the same defeat of the southern kings is implied though under a different context.

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[20] The popular story connected with the composition of the Kalambakam is a later invention ; but it is merely an explanation of the fact that Nandivarman had a brother who turned out to be an enemy. The story runs thus : Nandi's brother, who could not kill him either by valour or by cunning, resorted to an effective scheme which was to compose a series of stanzas on Nandi full of stinging words of abuse and to have it sung out to him. He had the stanzas composed, and arranged for a dancing girl to sing one particular stanza when Nandi was going in procession. Nandi heard this song and wished to have the entire collection sung before him. This was not approved by Nandi's counsellors, but he was importunate and his brother was only too ready to meet his desire. So the songs were sung and Nandi met with his death as a result of the scurrilous character of the stanzas. " Nandikkalambakam ", Introduction, p. 3. Gopalayyar's Edition.

In his padigam on the god at Nāṭṭiyattāngudi, Sundarar purposely pays tribute to his friend Kōṭpuli by referring to the latter's military exploits. He says that Kōṭpuli was successful in a war against a host of enemies—"kūḍā mannarai kūṭṭattu venṟa koḍiṟan Kōṭpuli." Again, in his Tiruttoṇḍattogai he praises Kōṭpuli as one famous for his victory—" aḍal śūḻnda vel Nambi kōṭpuḷikkumaḍiyēn."

That Kōṭpuli was a contemporary of Sundarar is certain; and in the *Periyapurāṇam* we read that he was a commander of the army under his contemporary king who was evidently the Pallava Nandivarman III. It is also narrated that Kōṭpuli was suddenly ordered by the king to fight against his enemies in a battle where he distinguished himself by defeating a host of kings.[21] It is thus evident that Kōṭpuli was one of the leaders of the Pallava army which engaged itself against the southern kings at Teḷḷāṟu.

The course of events described so far enables us to distinguish the Pallava king as a great hero. His devotion to Śiva and his interest in Tamil literature deserved well the unique eulogy from his contemporary Śaiva Nāyanār who in the presence of Śiva at Tirumēṟṟaḷi extolled Kāñcī the capital of the Pallavas as *the city* on earth—"Pārūr Pallavanūr."[22]

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[21] *Periyapurāṇam* : Kōṭpuli Nāyanār Caritam.

[22] Tirumēṟṟaḷi padigam.

INDEX.

A

Abhayarāja Vihāra 115.
Abhinava 253.
Abhinava Gupta 253, 283, 284.
Abhiṣēkanāma of Kings 39-40.
Aḍai Nilam 146.
Adhikaraṇa 57, 58.
Adhikaraṇadaṇḍam 57, 58.
Adhikārar 58.
Adhiṣṭhānas, 57.
Adhyakṣas 56, 121.
Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍan Mārambāvaiyār, 161.
Aḍigaḷmār 178, 281.
Āditya I 3, 5, 233.
Ādivarāha Cave 163*n*, 164, 184, 288.
Aḍiyārkkunallār 249, 276.
Agambaḍiyār 138.
Aggaḷanimmati 24, 161.
Agradatta family 52.
Agrahāras 200-205; Organisation and Composition, 201.
Ālambākkam 111.
Alapallava 277*n*.
Alavaṇakreṇikhanaka, 71.
Ālīḍhāsana 284.
Allahabad Pillar 2.
Alōṇagulachchōbha 71.
Āḷunganattār 126, 129, 130.
Āḷuruṭṭi-Malai, 236, 238.
Āḷvār 121.
Āḷvārgaḷ 179.
Āḷvārs (Saints), 241.
Āmai 135.
Amarakōśa, 243*n*, 248.
Amarāvati 15, 21, 219.
Amātya 49, 50*n*.
Ambassador to China 90.
Amōghavajra 115.
Amṛtagaṇa 132-134.
Amṛtagaṇattār, 132, 133.
Amśas 260.
Amśuvarman 7.
Ancient Customs 163.
Āndhra Coinage, 89.
Āndhrāpatha, 15.
Āndhradēśa, 213.
Angamaṇi, 163.
Āṅgika-Abhinaya, 277.
Antara, 259, 265, 267.
Anudātta, 241.
Aparājita, 3, 4, 5, 6, 47, 144, 163.
Aparājitacaturvēdimangalam, 15.
Aparamparābalivadam, 72.
Appar, 229, 230, 233*n*, 239.
Aqueduct, 105.
Aṟaiyōlai, 123.
Arangēṟṟu Kādai, 276.
Aṟavaṇa Aḍigaḷ, 223.
Arcakas, 174-176.
Arcanābhōgas, 143.
Ardha-Candra, 278.
Areca palms, 149.
Armamalai, 288.
Army, 66-67.
Army Officers, 67.
Araśu, 52.
Aṟṟukkāl, 102.
Arthaśāstra, 51, 77.
Artisans, 135.
Aruha Dēvar, 237.
Aruṇagirinātha, 243*n*.
Āryavarman, 4.
Aśōka Edicts, 51, 233*n*.
Aśōkan Characters, 233.
Assembly of the Nāḍu, 121.
Assembly of the Ūr, 123-124.
Aṣṭādaśa Parihāram, 173.
Aśvaghoṣa, 249.
Aśvatthāma, 11, 12.
Athenians, 185*n*.
Ātōdya, 243, 244.
Avani Nāraṇan, 300.
Avaninārāyaṇa Caturvēdimangalam, 99, 131.
Avantisundarī Kathā, 114, 160*n*.
Avaraśaila, 219, 220, 221.
Āyuktakas, 121.

B

Bāhūr—Sanskrit College, 205-207.
Bāṇa—Poet, 180.
Bāṇas, 228.
Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka; Bappa Swāmi; Bappa Mahārāja, 6-10.
Baskets, 103, 104.
Bauddha Vihāra; Ṇāgapaṭṭinam, 170.
Bērikai, 255.
Bhagavadajjukam, 299.
Bhāgavatapurāṇam, 180.
Bhaṇḍāgārika, 56*n*.
Bhāradvāja Āśramam, 297.
Bhāratīya Nāṭya Śāstra, 257.
Bhāravi, 49.
Bhaṭṭavṛtti, 199-200.
Bhavabhūti, 180.
Bhikku hala, 93.
Bhramarā, (ī) 214.
Bhramarāmbā, 214.
Bhuvanimāṇikkam, 15.
Bhuvanimāṇikkaviṣṇugṛham, 15.
Birudas, 241.
Bōdhidharma, 224-225.

Borobudur, 277, 280, 281.
Bṛhaddēśi, 253.
Bṛhaddīśvara temple, 280.
Bṛhaspati, 51, 52, 53.
Brāhmaṇarāśakkāṇam, 73, 74.
Brahman villages, 136.
Brahmapurī, 188.
Brahmarājan, 9.
Brahma Śrī Rāja, 51, 52, 53, 54.
Brahma Yuva Rāja, 52, 53.
Brāhmī inscription, 19, 233, 233*n*, 235.
Brāhmin Priests, 74.
Brāhmins in Society, 159.
Branch channels, 103.
Buddha Carita, 249.
Buddhism, 186.
Buddhist centres of Learning, 213-226.

C

Cālukyas, 22.
Cambōḍia, 20, 25.
Cāmuṇḍī, 180.
Canals, 102.
Caṇḍavarman of Kaliṅga, 7.
Candraprabhā temple, 231.
Candravalli Inscriptions, 2.
Cārudevi, 23, 24, 160.
Cattle-breeders, 73.
Cattle Raid, 167.
Caturānana Paṇḍitas, 211, 212*n*.
Catura pose, 277, 277*n*.
Caturdaṇḍiprakāśika, 263.
Cēndalūr plates, 140.
Cezarla, 173.
Channels, 102.
Chariots in warfare, 66.
China, 69.
Chinese Annals, 90.
Chinese Buddhist's, Vihāra, 69.
Chinese Emperor, 90.
Chinese pilgrims, 213.
Chu-lī-ya (country), 221-222.
Cidvilāsa, 210.
Citrakārapuli, 241, 288.
Citramēgha Taṭāka, 96.
Citra Sūtra, 280.
Cocoanut palms, 148.
Coins, 88.
Coins in Epigraphy, 92.
Cōḷa coinage, 90.
Colonial Expansion, 70.
Cotton, 150.
Court Poets, minor, 64.
Crab-Coin emblem, 91.

D

Dakṣiṇa-Citra, 298.
Daḷavānūr, 12.
Damanagam, 152.
Ḍamaru, 255.
Ḍancing, 276-287.
Daṇḍa, 57.
Daṇḍin, 118.
Dantivarmamangalam, 111.
Dantīśvara Shrine, 111.
Darāsuram, 287.
Daśakumāra Carita, 57.
Daśanapura, 67.
Dayāmukha, 201.
Dayāmukhamangalam, 136, 201.
Decline of Pallava Rule, 3-6.
Derivation of Ghaṭikā, 186.
Devadāna Villages, 136.
Devasēna—author, 227.
Devasōma, 247.
Devasthāna Committee, 179.
Dhanadāsa, 139, 224.
Dhaññakaḍa, 15.
Dharaṇikōṭa, 16.
Dharmadēva Ācārya, 237.
Dharmādhikārins, 57.
Dharmamahādēvīśvaragṛham, 161.
Dharmamāhārajādhirāja, 1, 6.
Dharmapāla, 225.
Dharmarāja Ratha, 89*n*., 91.
Dharmāsana, 59, 60.
Dharmasena (Appar), 229, 230.
Dharmasthīya, 59, 60.
Dharmikaḷ, 125.
Dhyāna schools, 224, 225.
Digambara Darśana Sāra, 227.
Digambara Jains, 227, 229, 231, 298.
Dignāga, 224.
Divānattār, 57*n*.
Divine Origin of Kings, 38-39.
Division of the Army, 66.
Draupadī Ratha, 182.
Drāviḍa Vēda Sāgaram, 241.
Drōṇācārya, 12.
Druids, 185.
Duḥsamasuṣamā, 295.
Dundubi, 255.
Duration of Pallava Rule, 1-2.

E

Eccōṟu, 82, 124.
Economic Life, 135-155.
Educational Institutions, 186-212.
Ekadhīramangalam, 103.
Ekāmra, 137, 181*n*.
Ekāmrēśvara, 191.
Ekāvaḷi, 254, 254*n*., 255*n*.
Ekkāḷam, 179.
Ēlaḍippaṭṭam, 233, 235.
Election of Kings, 38.
Elephants in Warfare, 66.
Emblem of the Pallavas, 41-43.
Ēripaṭṭi, 146.
Ēri Vāriya Perumakkaḷ, 128, 129.
Ēttampulam, 103.

Ēttapāḍam, 103.
Exchequer, 56.
Expedition to Ceylon, 163.

F

Fa-Hien, 213.
Famine, 112-120; effects of, 118; protection against, 119.
Fencing of lands, 62.
First Pallava King, 6-10.

G

Gajahasta, 277, 278.
Gajaśāstra, 66, 66*n*.
Gaṇapati Vāykkal, 103.
Gaṇaperumakkaḷ, 132.
Gāndharva Śāstram, 247.
Gāndharvas, 247.
Gāndharva Vidyā, 251.
Gaṅgā, 4.
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, 2.
Ghaṭikā, 13, 186-197 ; Royal Patronage, 193-194.
Ghaṭikācala, 197-198.
Ghaṭikai Eḻāyiravar, 189.
Girinātha, 254.
Godāśa-Gaṇa, 130.
Gōḷaka Maṭha, 182*n*.
Gold Coins, 92.
Goldsmith, 63.
Gopinatha Rao, 3, 6.
Graha Formations, 268.
Gṛhakṛtya, 57.
Guḍimallam, 3.
Guṇabharan (Guṇadharan), 231, 247, 252.
Guṇasēna, 250, 252.
Gurukkaḷ, 174.
Guruparamparai, 171.

H

Hala, 84, 93.
Halikākara, 93.
Harṣacarita, 180.
Hasta-Abhinaya, 278, 279.
Hastas, 85.
Head Offering, 179.
Head Sluice, 105-106.
Hereditary Servants, 63.
Herodotus, 20.
Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi, 6, 10, 50, 55.
Human Sacrifice, 179, 185.

I

Iḍaipāṭṭam, 73*n*.
Iḍaipuri Ganēśa, 244.
Iḍaipūtci, 73.
Iḍaiyars, 73.
Īḻampūṭci, 72, 73.
Īḻavar, 73.
Imperial Titles, 39.
Individual dancing, 277.
Indra-Lōka, 256.
Inundation Canals, 103.
Iṟai, 71.
Iṟai Kāval, 145.
Iraiyūr Uḍaiyān, 53.
Irrigation, 94-110; methods of, 102.
Irukkuvēḷ, 235.
Īśānavarman, 115, 116.

J

Jain, 235, 236, 238.
Jain Arhats, 229, 234.
Jain Centres, 231.
Jain Hill, 236.
Jain Monastery at Veḍāḷ, 232-233.
Jaina Writers, 227.
Jainism, 186, 227.
Jain Literature, 229.
Jain Śaṅgam, 227, 228.
Jain Scholars, 227, 229.
Jain Seats of Learning, 227-238.
Jala Yantras, 104.
Jallari, 255.
Jarjari, 255.
Jātakas, 51.
Jayavarman, 1.
Jina-Kāñcī, 231.
Jiṣṇu Gupta, 7.
Jīvakacintāmaṇi, 227.
Jīva-Svaras, 260.
Judiciary, 57-60.

K

Kaḍalāḍu Kāḍai, 276.
Kaḍalmallai, 1.
Kadamba Kākusthavarman, 2.
Kaḍambar-malai, 236.
Kadambas, 22, 187, 194.
Kāḍava Māḍēviyār, 17.
Kāḍavar, 12.
Kāḍavarkōn, 17, 299.
Kaḍavuḷan, 235.
Kāḍupaṭṭi Tamiḻappēraraiyan, 17.
Kāḍuveṭṭi, 12, 17, 18.
Kāḍuveṭṭippēraraiyan, 17.
Kāḍuveṭṭi Tamiḻappēraraiyar, 18.
Kahāpaṇa, 88.
Kailāsanātha temple, Ālambakkam, 111.
Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñcī, 43-44 ; 241; 297.
Kaiśika, 246, 256, 259.
Kaiśika Madhyama, 256, 259.
Kākali, 259, 265, 267.
Kākula, 65*n*.
Kākusthavarman, 18.

Kāl, 103.
Kaḻal-Śingam, 301, 303.
Kalam, 87.
Kalambakam, 162, 304, 304*n*.
Kālāmukha, 137, 180.
Kalāvatī, 244.
Kalhāṇa, 57.
Kalingattupparaṇi, 21, 240*n*.
Kalingu, 105.
Kallāṇakkāṇam, 74.
Kallinātha, 257, 258.
Kālyāṇī Inscription, Burma, 69.
Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha, 210.
Kāmandakīya Nīti, 50*n*.
Kambhōja, 20.
Kanakavalli Taṭāka, 99.
(Kana) Kuca (U.) Paṇḍitar, 237.
Kāñcī, Pallavas in, 1-18; the Ghaṭikā of, 186-197.
Kaṇḍan Māṟambāvaiyār, 162.
Kaṇikaiyār, 178.
Kāṇikkai, 74.
Kaṇṇagi, 165.
Kaṇṇāla, 74.
Kaṇṭakaśōdhana, 60.
Kāpālika, 57, 58, 137, 180.
Kapālīśvara, Mylapore, 181.
Kapōtīśvara, 173.
Karai Nilam, 146.
Karaṇa, 57.
Karaṇadaṇḍam, 57, 58.
Karaṇam, dance mode, 276.
Karaṇam—Rhythmical pause, etc. 243.
Karaṇattān, 65.
Kāraṇika, 65, 66.
Karkumiḻi, 105.
Kārle Inscription, 1.
Karmā Rāṣṭra, 37.
Kashmirian Constitution, 57.
Kaśākuḍi Plates 8, 38, 43, 73, 199.
Kāsṭhakāri, 63, 64.
Kaṭhacitra—Coin legend, 89*n*.
Kattikkāṇam, 81.
Kaṭumukhavāditra, 43, 67.
Kauṭilya, 51.
Kavērippākkam Tank, 99.
Khaṭikā-Bhūmi, 292.
Khaṭvānga, 43-45.
Khonds, 185*n*.
Kiḻaikkāl, 103.
Kiḷḷi, 95, 223.
Kīḻvāyil-kēḻpār, 55.
King-makers, 54.
Kingship (Hereditary), 37-38.
Kinnari (Kinnaram), 255.
Kīranūr (Pudukkottai State), 297.
Kirātārjunīya, 49.
Kōccaḍaiyan, 24, 90.
Koḍukkappiḷḷai, 56, 57.
Koḍukōṭṭi, 255.
Koḍumbāḷūr, 105, 181, 235*n*.
Kokkari (Śangu), 255.
Kōlācala family, 254.
Kolivāla-Bhōjakas, 55.
Kolkalam, 110.
Kōmārṭi Plates, 7.
Koṇḍamuḍi Plates, 1.
Koṅgu Vīras, 185.
Kōpperuñjingadēva 287.
Koṟṟagrāma, 104.
Kōśa-Adhyakṣa, 56.
Koṣṭhāgārin, 63.
Kōṭpuli, 305.
Kōṭṭaimalai, 236.
Kōyil Parivāram, 137, 173.
Kōyil Vāriyam, 179.
Krṣṇadēva Rāya, 185, 258.
Kṣatriyas, 12, 13.
Kubja, Viṣṇu Vardhana, 23.
Kuḍakkūttu, (pot dance), 276.
Kuḍamuḻā, 255.
Kūḍāram, 76.
Kuḍi, 138.
Kuḍimakkaḷ, 138.
Kudiraiccēri (Kudiraippaḷḷam) 140.
Kuḍumbi, 138.
Kuḍumiyāmalai, 244, 245, 246, 247, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260.
Kuḍumiyāmalai Music, technique of, 256-274.
Kuḻal, 255, 276.
Kūḻampandal, 14.
Kulangīḻār, 175.
Kulōttunga III, 237.
Kumārasambhava, 243.
Kumāraviṣṇu, 6.
Kuñcita, 286.
Kūṟai, 77.
Kuṟal, 168.
Kūram Plates (grant), 8, 67, 81, 97, 106.
Kūram, Śiva temple, 176.
Kurangu, 103.
Kūṟṟanvāy, 105, 106.
Kuṟṟēttam, 104.
Kurugōḍu, 303.
Kurukkōṭṭai, 303.
Kurumbar, 11*n*.
Kurumbarādittan, 12.
Kurumbas, 12.
Kuruṇi, 87.
Kuśakkāṇam, 76.
Kūttus (dances), 276, 277.
Kuvaḷai, 152.

L

Labels of Instruction, 250.
Laccadive Islands, Conquest of, 70.
Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Author 258*n*.
Lalita, 284.
Land-Tenure, 146.
Latā-Vṛścika, 277.

Likhita, 55.
Lion—Coin emblem, 92.
Lokapāla, 20.
Lokavibhāga—Jain work, 227, 228, 229.

M

Maḍalērudal, 168.
Maḍattu Śaṭṭa Perumakkaḷ, 179*n*.
Mādhava Mahārājādhirāja II, 4.
Madhyama Grāma, 245, 256, 257, 259, 267, 271-274.
Madura, 236.
Maganmai or Magamai, 137.
Mahābalipuram, 288.
Mahābhārata, 51, 176.
Mahākāṣṭhakāri, 68.
Mahāmātras, 50, 51.
Mahamātrīya, 50*n*.
Mahārāja of Cīnadēśa, 691.
Mahatras, 51.
Mahāvamśa, 70.
Mahāvīra, 295.
Mahēndra Taṭāka, 95.
Mahēndravarman I, 183, 228, 229, 230, 241, 248, 249, 252, 263.
Mahēndra Viṣṇugṛham, 95.
Mahiṣāsuramardanī, 181.
Mahēśvara Manōdhīra—Poet, 66.
Malaipaḍugadām, 165.
Mālatī Mādhava, 43*n*, 180.
Malayadhvajan, 235.
Malayaḍipaṭṭi, 288, 297.
Mallai, 1.
Mallinātha, 243, 254, 255.
Malliṣēna's *Nāgakumāracarita*, 20*n*.
Māmallapuram, 182, 241, 288.
Māmaṇḍūr, 96, 247, 288, 289.
Manāyanāḻi, 86.
Māṇigaḷ, 179.
Māṇikkappaṇḍāram Kāppān, 56.
Māṇikkattār, 178.
Māṇikkavāśagar, 9*n*., 52.
Maṇimēkalai—the Buddhist Nun, 112.
Maṇimēkalai, 11, 21, 113, 180.
Maṇipallavam, 11*n*., 95.
Maṇ-Malai, 236.
Maṇṇe grant, 4*n*.
Manṟāḍuvadu, 83.
Manṟupāḍu, 83.
Māntrikan, 166.
Mantri Maṇḍala, 51, 54.
Mantrins, 49, 51.
Mantri-Pariṣad, 51.
Manu, 51, 77*n*.
Marakkal, 78, 87.
Māṟambāvaiyār—Queen, 161*n*, 178.
Mārayam, 52, 52*n*.
Marco Polo, 281.
Mardala, 247*n*., 255.
Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇam, 242.
Mārppiḍugēri, 98.
Marudāḍu Eri, 99.
Maruṇīkkiyār (Appar), 299.
Matanga (Author), 253.
Matangan Paḷḷi, 165.
Maṭhas in Epigraphy, 208.
Maṭhas in Literature, 209.
Maṭhas of Śaṅkara, 209.
Mātras, 50.
Mattavilāsa, 57, 58, 181, 241, 246, 298.
Mattavilāsa Nṛttam, 246.
Mayidavōlu plates (Grant), 1, 2, 15, 72, 121, 141, 218.
Mayilāpore, 181.
Mayūraśarman, 2, 13, 18, 22, 187, 187*n*.
Medicinal plants, 150-153.
Mēlakkōil, 244, 245, 248.
Mēl-Malai, 236, 238.
Memorials for the dead, 163-164.
Menmatūra, 67.
Military Camps, 67.
Ministerial Duties, 53-54.
Ministerial Titles, 52.
Ministry, 49-57.
Minor Court Poets, 64.
Mondai, 255.
Mricchakaṭika, 57.
Mṛdangam, 255.
Mukavāy, 106.
Mukhyamantrī, 54.
Muktēśvara temple, Kāñcī, 161, 181.
Mūlaprakṛiti, 50.
Muḻavam, 255.
Muṇḍā Rāṣṭra, 37.
Muraja, 243.
Muraśu, 255.
Music, 239-274.
Muttaraiya Chief, 297.

N

Naccinārkkiṇiyār, 11, 21.
Nādamuni, 241.
Nādamūrti, 239.
Nādānta Dance, 277.
Nāḍu, 121.
Nāganandin, Jain teacher, 232.
Nagārā, 255.
Nāgārjuna, 214, 224.
Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, 214, 215.
Nāgi Legends, 25-34.
Nālaḍiyār, 227.
Nālandā, 115, 225.
Nālāyiraprabandam, music of the, 241.
Nāḻi, 87.
Nallerudu, 72.
Nālvanāḻi, 86.
Naminādа, 234.
Nammāḻvār, 240.
Nandikēśvara (author), 242.

Nandikēśvara, 283.
Nandikkalambakam, 23, 42, 45, 70, 162, 300.
Nandivarmamangalam, 102*n*.
Nandivarman Pallava Malla, 102, 103, 105, 192, 197, 198, 199, 201.
Nārada Śikṣā, 241*n*, 256, 259.
Nārāyanāḻi, 87.
Narttāmalai, 235, 236, 238.
Nāsik Inscription, 2.
Naṭarāja, 239, 287.
Nāṭṭār, 121.
Nāṭṭukkāl, 102.
Nāṭṭuvagai, 80.
Nāṭyaratnāvaḷi, 253.
Nāṭya Śāstra, 239, 257, 276, 277, 282, 285, 287, 290.
Naval Expeditions, 69.
Nāvukkaraśu, 229.
Navy, 67-69.
Nāyanārs, 238.
Neḍumāṟan—Pāṇḍya king, 229.
Neḍumbaṟai, 82.
Negapatam—a Pallava sea-port, 69, 171*n*.
Neminātha, 234.
Nepal—rulers of, 7.
Nērvāyam, 109-110.
Ney-vilai, 81.
Nilaikkaḷattār, 58, 61.
Nilakkaḷattār, 62.
Nimēśvara, 234.
Nimi, 234.
Nirañjana Guravar, 211.
Nirañjanēśvaram, 211.
Niṣka, 88.
Nivartana, 84, 85, 85*n*.
Nōkku (Dance), 276.
Nṛpatunga, 3, 4, 5, 6, 47, 63, 70, 99, 161, 163, 167.
Nṛsimhasūri—his date, 252, 254-255.
Nṛttamūrti, 239, 282.

O

Ōḍai, 103.
Ōḍakkūli, 77.
Offerings of heads to Durgā, 179-185.
Offerings to Śiva, heads of Jains, 185 ; Heads and Tongues, 185.
Oil-mongers, 135.
Omgōḍu grants, 23, 37, 199.
Origin of the Pallavas, 10.

P

Pāḍagam, 85, 86, 93.
Padakku, 87.
Pāḍam, 78.
Paḍāmkaḷi, 78.
Padarikārāma monastery, 69.
Pahlādpur, 19, 20.
Pahlavas, 20.
Painting, 288-297.
Paḻamoḻi Nānūṟu, 227.
Paḻangāśu, 92.
Pālār, 102, 103.
Pallāvaram, 241, 242.
Pallava Rule—decline, 3-6 ; duration, 1-2.
Pallavas—origin, 10.
Pallavēndrapurī, 2.
Paḷḷiccandam, 235.
Paḷḷippaḍai, 165.
Panañjāṟu, 80.
Panampāgu, 80.
Pāṇarāṣtra, 228.
Pañcama, 246, 256, 259.
Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, 231, 233.
Pañcatantra, 57.
Pañcavar, 120.
Pañcavāra, 120.
Pañcavāram, 120.
Pañcavāra Vāriyam, 120.
Pañcavaram Āyirakkāḍi, 120.
Paṇḍārattār, 57*n*.
Pāṇḍya, 3, 4, 5.
Pāṇḍyan Crest, 89.
Paṇini Śikṣā, 241*n*.
Pan-Māhēśvaras, 124.
Paradatti, 143.
Pāraikkāṇam, 76.
Paraiyan-malai, 236.
Paramēśvaramangalam, 103, 136, 139.
Paramēśvara Taṭāka, 97, 102.
Paramēśvaravinnagar, 44.
Paramōttara-kāraṇika, 65, 66.
Parañjōti, 51.
Paravaiyār, 178.
Parihāras, 7.
Parimaḷā, 254.
Pariṣa, 51.
Parivādinī, 248, 249, 249*n*, 250, 251.
Pārthian, 19.
Pārthivas, 19, 20.
Pāśupata, 57, 58, 180.
Patākā, 93.
Patākā-Hasta, 279, 283.
Pāṭalika, 228.
Pāṭalīputra monastery, 227-231, 238 ; under royal patronage, 229-230 ; destruction, 230-231 ; village, 228.
Paṭṭattāḻmangalam, 136.
Paṭṭigai Kānam, 76, 77.
Paṭṭika, 84, 85.
Paṭṭinaśeri, 76, 79.
Pattuppāṭṭu, 21, 165, 166.
Pattūr-Śāṟṟu, 80.
Payalnilam, 146.
Penukoṇḍa Plates, 4.
Pēraraiyan, 52.
Pērēttam, 104.
Periyapurāṇam, 17, 49, 112, 113, 181, 182, 228, 229, 230, 240, 252*n*, 303, 305.

Periya Tirumaḍal, 168, 169*n*.
Periya Tirumoḻi, 9, 241.
Perumakkaḷ, 126, 134.
Perumānaḍigaḷ, 17, 137.
Perumbāṇappāḍi, 228.
Perumbiḍugu Vāykkāl, 102.
Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, 20.
Peruvaḷanallūr, 113.
Phoenicians, 185*n*.
Picotahs, 103, 104.
Pīkira grant, 23, 37.
Piḻaiyānāḻi, 86.
Pilivaḷai, 21, 95.
Pirudi Gangaraiyar, 5.
Pirudimāṇikkam, a measure, 5.
Pirudimāṇikka-Uṟi, 87.
Pon-malai, 236.
Ponniyakkiyār, 232.
Portrait Statues, 164.
Pōtra, 54.
Pōttaraiyan, 3, 11.
Pōttu, 11.
Pratimādevi Caturvēdimangalam, 4*n*.
Prithivī Mahadēvi Caturvēdimangalam, 4*n*.
Prithivīmāṇikkam, 4*n*, 22, 161.
Prithivīpati I, 3, 5.
Private Landlords, 140.
Privy Councillor, 55*n*.
Pudā, 78.
Pudām, 78.
Pudānāḻi, 78.
Pudāri, 78.
Pudukkoṭṭa Museum, 297.
Pugalvar, 252.
Pullamangai, 183, 185
Puḻudipāḍu, 110.
Puṟapporuḷ Veṇbā Mālai, 165*n*.
Puravu, 140*n*.
Purōhita, 54.
Puruṣamēdha, 180, 181*n*.
Pūrvaśaila, 219, 220, 221.
Pūśalār Nāyanār Purāṇam, 17.
Puttagavilai, 76, 77.

Q

Queens, 159-163.

R

Rāgaprakaraṇam, 263.
Rahasādhikāta, 55*n*.
Rahasyādhikṛta, 55.
Rājakandarpa, 243*n*.
Rājakartāraḥ, 54.
Rajakēsarivarman, 14.
Rāja Rāja I, 168, 280.
Rāja Rāja—coin legend, 90.
Rājarājadēva, 281.
Rājarājakesarivarman, 4*n*.
Rāja Rājēśvara, 281.
Rājarṣis, 9.
Rāja Sambhāvana, 74.
Rājasimhēśvaragṛham, 283, 285, 286.
Rājataranginī, 57*n*.
Rājataṭāka, 94.
Rājavīthī, 94.
Rakti Prastāra, 260.
Rāmāmātya, 264.
Raṇastapūṇḍi Plates, 23*n*.
Rangapatākā, 24, 160.
Rāśakkāṇam, 73, 74.
Rāśaḷippaṭṭi, 105.
Rāṣtra, 37.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 4, 22.
Rāṣṭrika, 37.
Ratnākara, 256, 259.
Ratnāvaḷī, 216.
Religious Persecution, 170-172.
Religious Ritual, 281.
Rēvā, 24, 160-161.
Revenue, 71-83.
Royal domain, 140.
Rudrācārya, music master, 246, 252-253.
Rudra-gaṇikas, 178.
Rudraśēna, 181*n*.
Rudraṭa, 252.

S

Sabhā at Nāraṇakkaccaturvedimangalam, 124.
Sabhā at Tiruttaṇi, 125.
Sabhā at Uttiramerūr, 125.
Saciva, 50.
Sacrifices by Druids, 185*n*.
Ṣāḍava, 245, 256, 259.
Sādhārita, 245, 256, 259, 267.
Ṣadja Grāma, 249, 256, 257, 259, 274
Śailēśvara, 131, 163.
Śākas, 20.
Śākta Worship, 180.
Salānkayanas, 7, 24.
Salt-manufacture, 71.
Sāmagānam, 241*n*.
Śamaṇa-malai, 236.
Śamaṇar Kuḍagu, 236.
Samavasaraṇa, 298.
Sambandar, 112, 236, 239, 240.
Samudraghōṣa, 43, 67.
Samudra Gupta, 2.
Samvatsaravāriya Perumakkaḷ, 14, 128, 129.
Śangam Literature, 2.
Śangam Period, 68.
Sangīta Dhana, 246.
Sangīta Lakṣaṇa Sangraha, 263.
Sangīta Ratnākara, 253, 257, 257*n*, 260.
Sangīta Sampradāya Pradarśanī, 263.
Sangīta Sūryōdaya, 258.
Śaṅkara—Advaita philosopher, 181*n*, 209-10.

Śankhā, 24, 161, 162.
Śankīrṇa Jātiḥ, 241, 243.
Śāntalinga, 185.
Śāntikkūttu, 276.
Sārangadeva, 253.
Śaṟṟimuṟṟadevar, 166.
Sarvamānya Tenure, 136.
Sarvanandi, 229.
Śātahaniraṭṭha, 142.
Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, 183.
Schools of Buddhist Philosophy, 224-225.
Scythians, 20, 185*n*.
Sea-ports, 68-69.
Secretariat, 54.
Segandi, 171.
Śēkkiḻār, 182.
Sekku, 77.
Śēmakkalam, 177.
Senāpatis, 67.
Śengāṭṭanguḍi, 181, 182.
Śennīrpodivi, 110.
Śennīr Veṭṭi, 110, 124
Seven Pagodas, 1.
Śeviḍu, 87.
Śikhānāthasvāmi temple, 244.
Śilāditya, 7.
Śilappadikāram, 81, 165, 180*n*., 183*n*., 240*n*, 249, 276, 276*n*.
Simhaḷa King, 69.
Simhaśūri-ṛṣi, 229.
Śīrāḷa, 182.
Śiṟuttoṇḍar, 51, 54, 181, 182.
Śiśupāla, 20.
Śittannavāśal, 233, 235, 238, 239, 288, 290.
Śittiraiviṣu, 138.
Śivabrāhmaṇas, 174.
Śivacūḍāmaṇi, 15, 89, 241.
Śivacūḍāmaṇimangalam, 14, 15.
Śivadeva I, 7.
Śivaganga, 212.
Sivamāra Saigoṭṭa, 4.
Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi, 23.
Śivaskandavarman, 1.
Skandavarman, 4.
Sluices—construction, 104-105.
Society, 159; four-fold division of, 159.
Sōma-Siddhānta, 211.
Śōṟumāṭṭu, 82.
Śrībali-Koṭṭuvār, 177.
Śrībhara-coin legend, 89, 91.
Śrīdhana, 163.
Śrīdhara Vāykkāl, 103.
Śrīkākulam, 65*n*.
Śrīkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, 8.
Śrī Māra, 163.
Śringeri, 212.
Śringeri Mutt, 9.
Śrīnidhi, 88, 91.
Śrī-Paṇḍāram, 56.
Śrī Parbata (Śrī Parvata), 214.
Śrī Parvata, 18, 180*n*.
Śrī Pūjyapāda, 227.
Śrī Puṟambiyam, 3, 4, 5.
Śrī Purāṇa, 292, 298.
Śrī Puruṣa, 17.
Śrīrangam, 171.
Śrī Śailam, 185, 215, 217*n*.
Śrutibhēda, 258.
State monopoly, 71.
Sthapati, 63, 64.
Sūcī-hasta, 278.
Śuddha Kaiśika, 259.
Sugar-State monopoly, 72.
Śukranīti, 50.
Sundaramūrtti, 17, 178, 299-305.
Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva, 237.
Supārśvanātha, 294.
Suprayōgā, 61.
Survey, 60-62.
Sūtradhāra, 246.
Sūtrakṛtānga, 292.
Svarāgamas, 246, 256.
Svaramañjarī, 252.
Svaramanojñamañjarī, 254.
Svaramēḷa Kaḷānidhi, 264.
Svarita, 241.
Svarnakṛt, 63.
Svastika, 293, 294, 295, 295*n*.
Śvētāmbara Jainas, 185.
Sylvain Levi, 115.

T

Takua-pa Inscription, 70.
Tāḷa, 242, 243.
Taḷaguṇḍa Inscription, 2, 13, 18, 187.
Talaivāy, 106.
Tāḷa Jātis, 242.
Tāḷalakṣaṇa, 242.
Tāḷam, 255.
Taḷiāḷvār, 178.
Taḷipparivāram, 173, 179.
Tamil Literature, 227.
Tamil Śangam, 227.
Taṇḍantōṭṭam, 201, 202.
Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam, 285.
Tanjore, 181.
Tārādeya, 77.
Taragu, 77.
Taṟi, 77.
Taṟikkūṟai, 77.
Tā-thsen (Kingdom), 213.
Tattaḷakam, 255.
Taṭṭalikoṭṭi (Taṭṭalikoṭṭuvār), 177.
Taṭṭār-Pāṭṭam, 75.
Tattoo, 152.
Taṭṭukkāyam, 75.
Tavaśigaḷ, 177.
Tavaśippiḷḷai, 178.
Taxation, 71-83.
Temple Establishment, 173-179.

Tenants of State Farms, 147.
Tēnīmalai, 235, 238.
Tennavan Brahmarāyan, 9*n*, 52.
Tennēri, 95.
Tennūr Hill (malai), 235.
Tēvāram, 181, 239, 240, 241.
Thakkai, 255.
Thargelia, 185*n*.
Tillaimūvāyiravar, 190, 191.
Tiraḷaya Taṭāka, see Tenneri, 190, 191.
Tiraiyar, 2*n*, 11, 21.
Tirayanēri, see Tenneri.
Tīrthankaras, 233, 234, 235, 237, 290.
Tiruccāttan, 235.
Tirumaḷai, 172.
Tirumangai (Āḻvār, Mannan), 9, 168, 169, 170, 171, 241.
Tirumaṇ Malai, 237.
Tirumayyam Music, 249-251 ; Author 252 ; Not a duplicate, 250.
Tirumeṟṟaḷi, 191.
Tirumugam, 123.
Tirumukkāṇam, 79.
Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār Purāṇam, 17, 252*n*.
Tirunīlakaṇṭhapāṇar, 240.
Tirunīlan, 235.
Tiruppadigam, 240.
Tiruppalikoṭṭuvār, 179.
Tiruppāṇmalai, 231.
Tirupparuttikkunṟam, 231, 234, 238, 291, 295.
Tiruppuṟambiyam, 3.
Tiruvādirai, 138.
Tiruvāśagam, 240*n*.
Tiruvāykkeḻvi, 55, 55*n*
Tiruvāymoḻi, 240, 241.
Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, 112, 113.
Tiruvippuṟambeḍu, 130.
Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, 181.
Tiṭṭaiccāṇan, 235.
Toḻakkunṟam,235.
Tolkāppiyam, 165*n*, 168, 168*n*.
Toṇḍai, 11, 12.
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, 1, 3, 5, 162.
Toṇḍamān Iḷandiṟaiyan, 95.
Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, 170, 172.
Tōrpāvai, 276.
Tōṭṭa-Vāriyam, 126.
Treasury, 55.
Tribhuvanam, 287.
Trichinopoly, 181, 183.
Tuḍi, 255.
Tuḷaippon, 92.
Tumbāneri, 98.
Tumburu, 244.
Two-masted Ship—on Coin, 92.

U

Udātta, 241.
Udayacandramangalam, 136.
Udayacandra—Pallava general, 67.
Udayendiram Grant, 3, 104, 171.
Uditōdaya—King, 63.
Uditōdaya Perundaṭṭān, 63.
Uḍukkai, 255.
Uḍumbu, 135.
Ūḍupōkku, 78, 79.
Ūḍu-Sāgupaḍi, 79.
Ujjain Symbol, 92.
Ukkal, 14-15, 129.
Uḻayavappaḷḷivattu, 80.
Uḷḷiyakūli, 109.
Uppukkōcceygai, 71, 72.
Ūr, 121.
Ūrār, 121, 123.
Uṟṟukkāl, 103.
Uruvapaḷḷi Plates, 9, 23.
Ūrvaśī, 247.
Uṭpuravudevadāna, 140.
Uttarakākula, 65*n*.
Uttara-Kāraṇika, 64, 65, 66.
Uttarāpatīśvara, 181*n*, 182.
Uttara-Valisāha-Gaṇa, 130.
Uvacca-malai, 236.
Uvaiccan or Uvaccan, 179.
Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai, 102.

V

Vajrabōdhi, 115.
Vajranandi, 227.
Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ Inscription, 46, 50, 194.
Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, 66, 67, 172, 280, 296.
Vairamegha Taṭāka, 97, 103, 129.
Vairamegha Vāykkāl, 102.
Vaiṣṇava teachers, 241.
Vākāṭakas, 12, 13, 181, 181*n*.
Vākpati—Poet, 180*n*.
Vālabhi rulers, 7.
Valaivaṇan, 95.
Valampuri-Gaṇēśa, 244, 245, 248.
Vallakī, 248.
Vālmīki, 54.
Vamśa—(flute), 243.
Vaṇṇārappārai, 76.
Vāra, 126.
Varaguṇa Mahārāja, 163.
Varāha Avatār, 288.
Varāha Cave, See Ādivarāha Cave.
Varāhamaṇḍapa, 183.
Vāram, 126.
Vardhamāna, 295.
Vāriyam, 126.
Varjya Svaras, 265, 266.
Vāsiṣṭhi Putra Pulumāyi, 2.
Vātāpi, 23, 54, 118.
Vaṭṭi, 78.
Vaṭṭi-nāḻi, 78.
Vāyalūr Pillar Inscription, 70.
Vāyilkēḻpār, 55, 58, 62.

Vāyttalai, 106.
Vedic Accents, 252.
Vegavatī, 103.
Vehkā, 109.
Veḷḷakkāl, 103.
Veḷḷeri, 98.
Velūrpāḷaiyam Plates, 6*n*, 21.
Vengi, 23.
Vengō Rāṣṭra, 87.
Venkaṭamakhi, 262, 263.
Venkayya, 3.
Veṟiyāṭṭu, 276.
Vicitracitta, 241.
Viḍelviḍugu, 45-48, 52, 64.
Viḍelviḍugu-Pon, 92.
Viḍelviḍugu Uḷakku, 87.
Vidūdakkūttu, 276.
Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara, 8.
Vijayāditya, Bāṇa, 3*n*.
Vijayanandivarman, 7.
Vijayapurī, 214.
Vijayaskandavarman, 1.
Vikramābharaṇacaturvedimangalam, 15.
Vikramāditya I, 118.
Vikramaśōḻan Ulā, 21.
Village Committees, 125.
Village headman, 75.
Vīṇā, 239, 240*n*, 243, 244, 248, 255.
Vinōdakkūttu, 276.
Vipañcī, 248.
Vīrakkal, 165-168.
Vīrapura, see Viripara.
Vīraśaivism, 182.
Vīraśarman, 188.
Viripara, 10, 15, 16.
Viśakkāṇam, 75.
Viṣaya, 37.
Viṣayapatis, 57.
Viṣṇudharmōttara, 280.
Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñci, 2.
Viṣṇuhāradevakula, 67.
Viṣṇukuṇḍin, 24, 180, 180*n*.
Vivādidōṣa, 258.
Vocal Music, 240.

W

War Implements, 67.
Water Supply, 94-110 ; administrative control of, 109.
Weaving—Village industry, 77.
Well diggers, 109.
Wells, 100-101.
Western Ganga Grant, 4, 5.
Wine, 180*n*.
Women, 163.
Women in Society, 159.

Y

Yagñabhaṭṭa, 8, 9.
Yāḻ, 240, 240*n*, 249, 255, 276.
Yōga-Linga, 210.
Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman, 9.
Yuvarāja, 54.

Z

Zen Shu (Dhyāna school), 224.

ERRATA

Page.	*Line.*	*For.*	*Read.*
11, 45*n*	1	are	is
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ILLUSTRATIONS

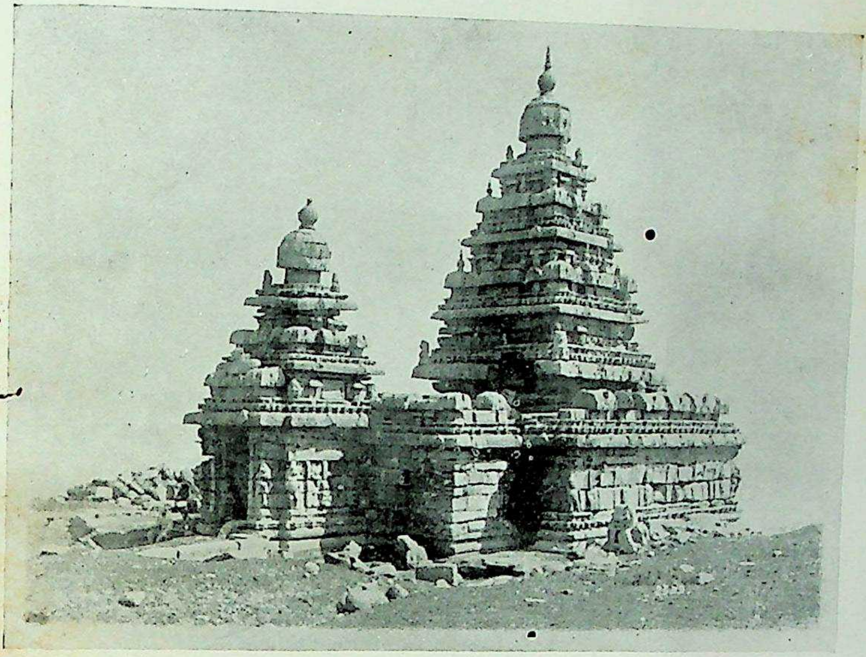

PLATE I. FIG. 1. SHORE TEMPLE, MAMALLAPURAM.

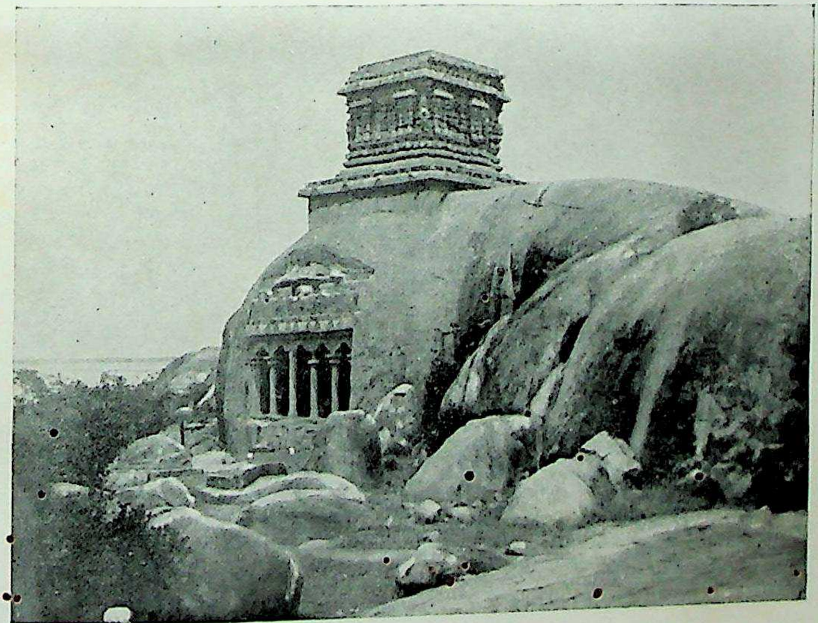

PLATE I. FIG. 2. CAVE AND STRUCTURAL MONUMENT.

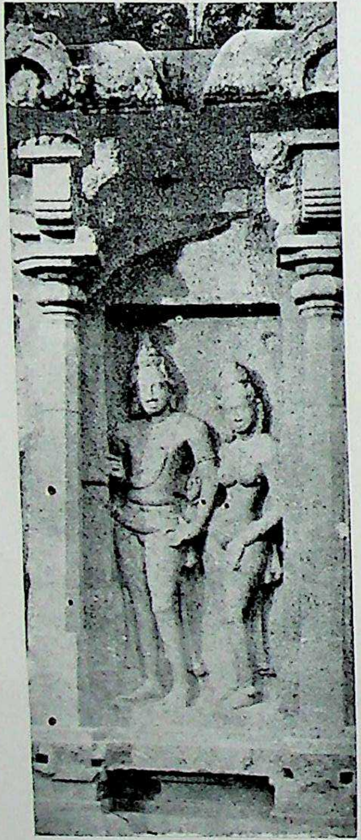

PLATE II. FIG. 3. PORTRAIT OF A PALLAVA KING AND QUEEN—MAMALLAPURAM.

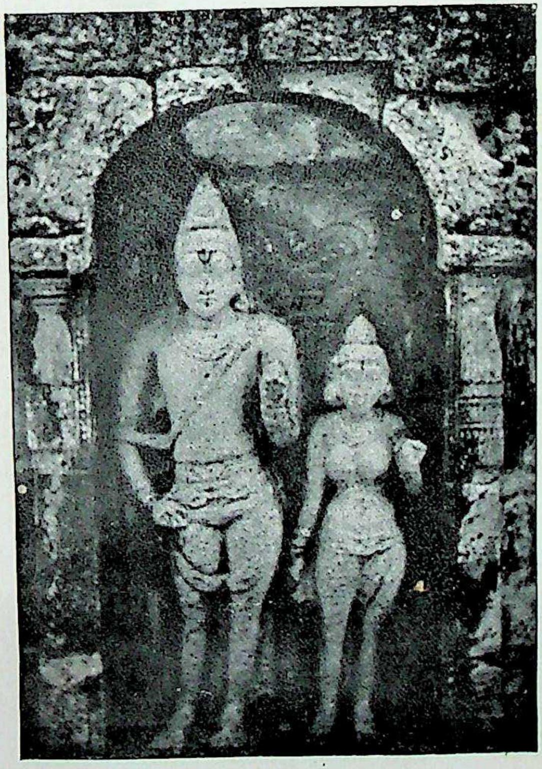

PLATE II. FIG. 4. PORTRAIT OF PALLAVA MALLA AND QUEEN—UTTIRAMERUR.

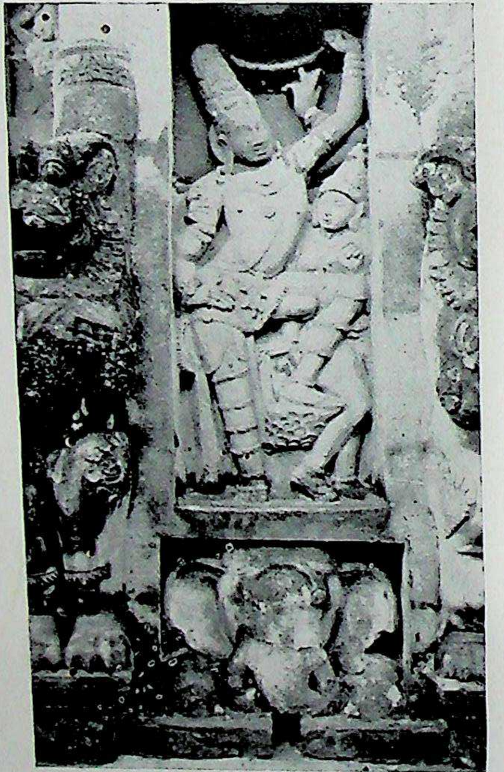

PLATE III. FIG. 5. GANGADHARA
KAILASANATHA TEMPLE.

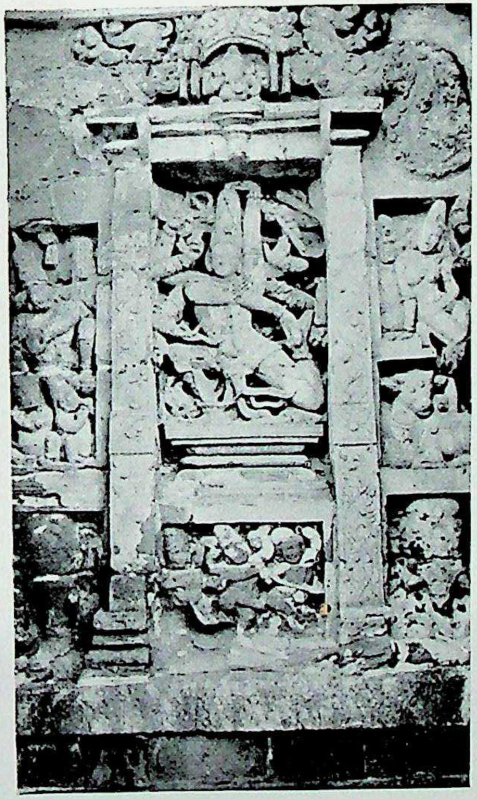

PLATE III. FIG. 6. KUNCITA MODE OF DANCING
OF SIVA.

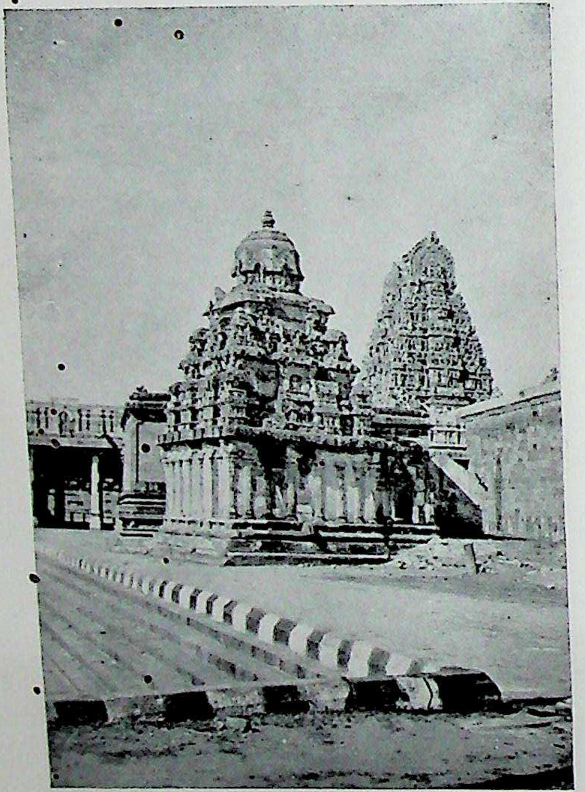

PLATE IV. FIG. 7. VALISVARA—KANCI.

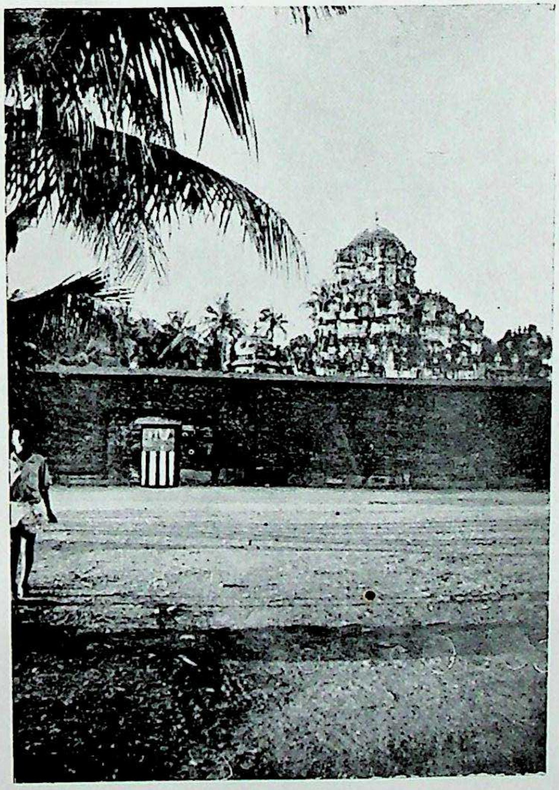

PLATE IV. FIG. 8. SUNDARAVARADA PERUMAL—UTTIRAMERUR.

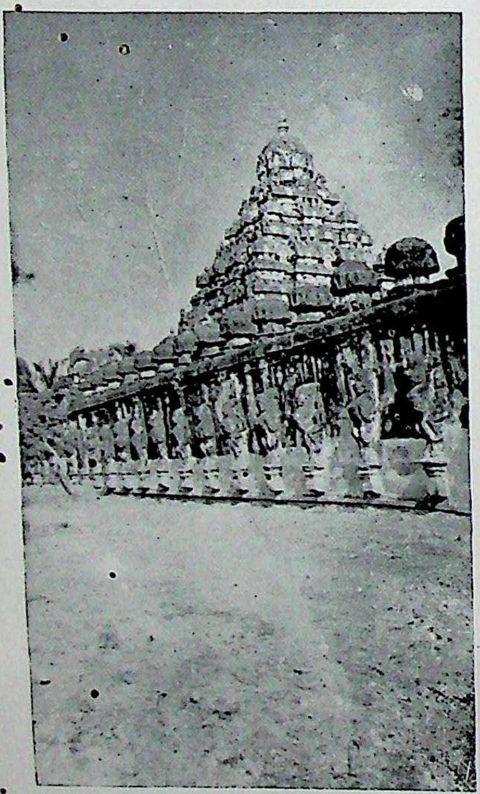

PLATE V. FIG. 9. KAILASANATHA—KANCI.

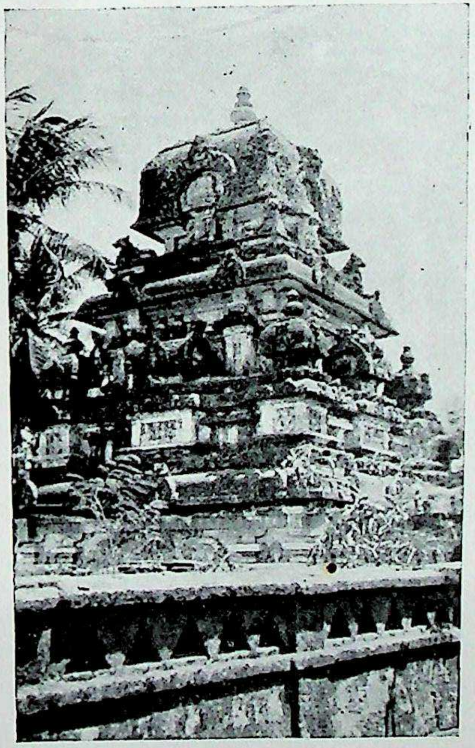

PLATE V. FIG. 10. IRAVASTHANAM—KANCI.

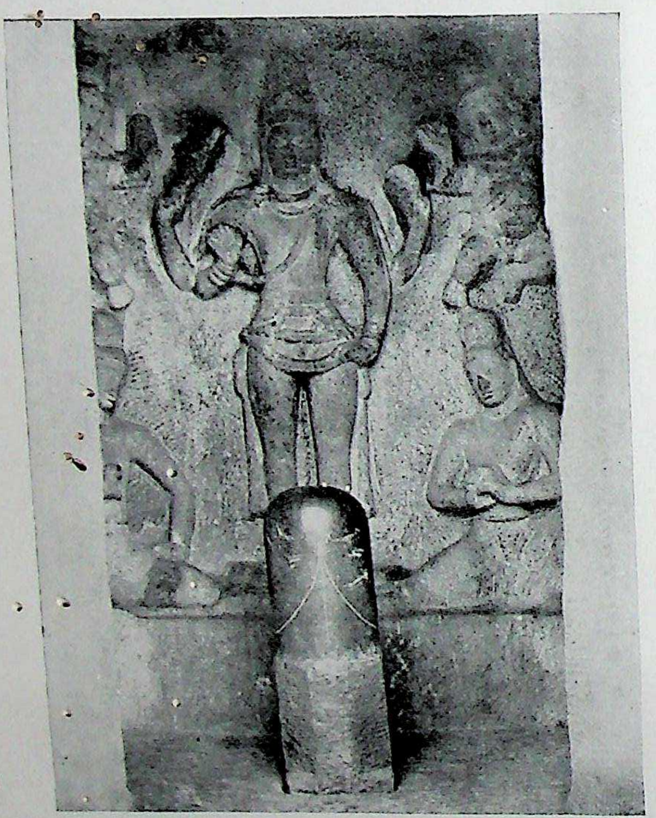

PLATE VI. FIG. 11. ANTHROPOMORPHIC FORM OF SIVA PLUS LINGA. MAMALLAPURAM.

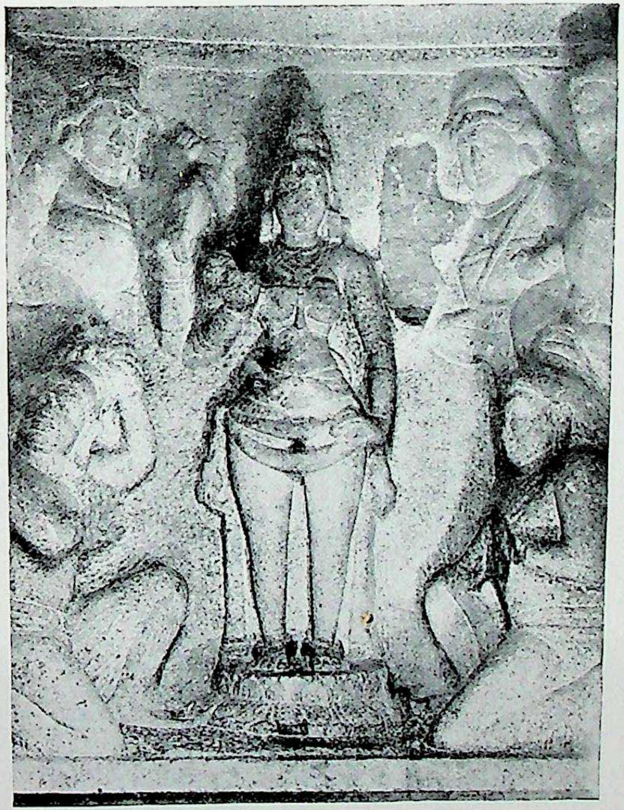

PLATE VI. FIG. 12. HEAD OFFERING.

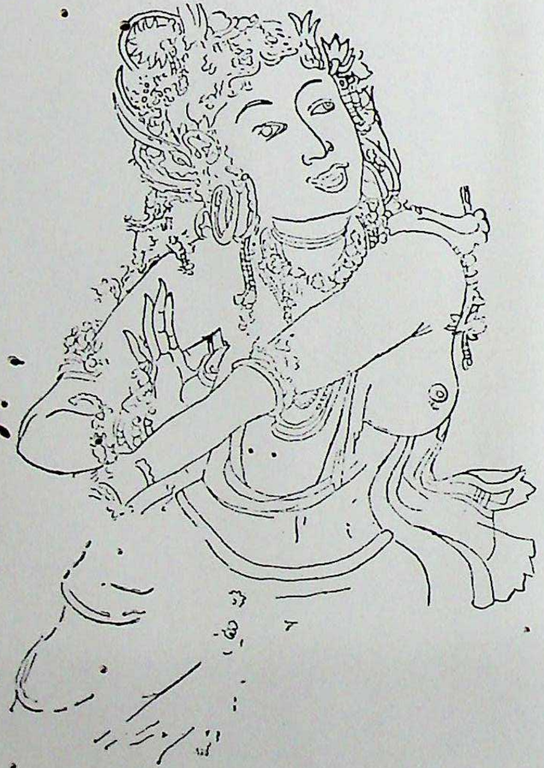

PLATE VII. FIG 13. WOMAN DANCER, GAJAHASTA POSE.
SITTANNAVASAL.

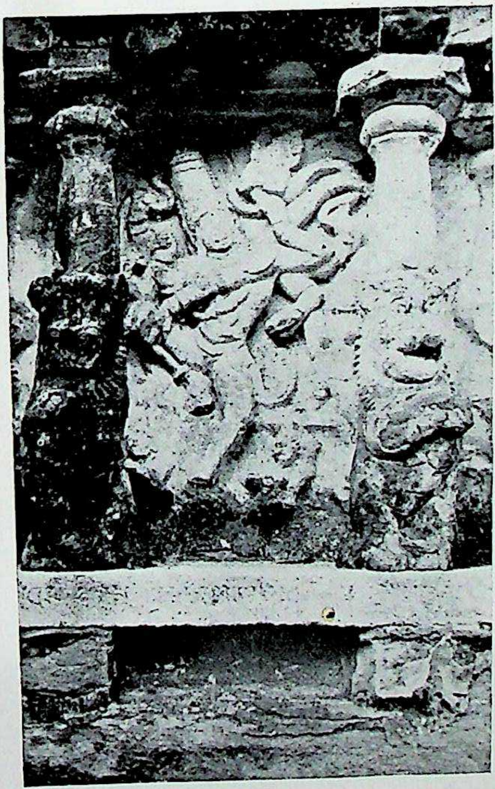

PLATE VII FIG. 14. TALASAMSPHOTITA DANCE OF SIVA.
KANCI.

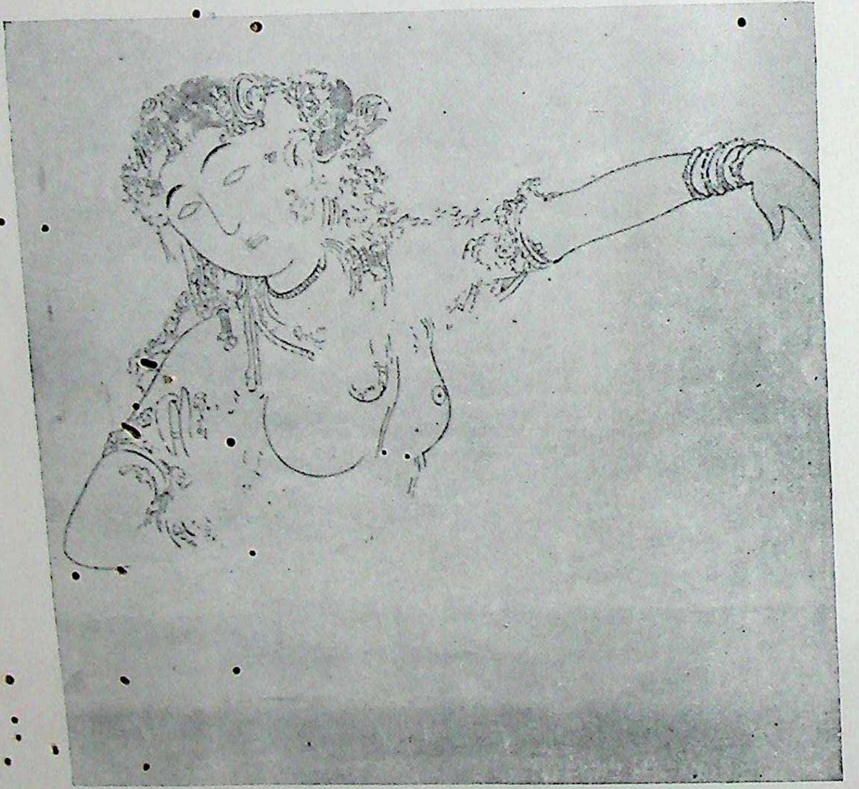

PLATE VIII. FIG. 15. LATAVRSCIKA HAND POSE.
SITTANNAVASAL.

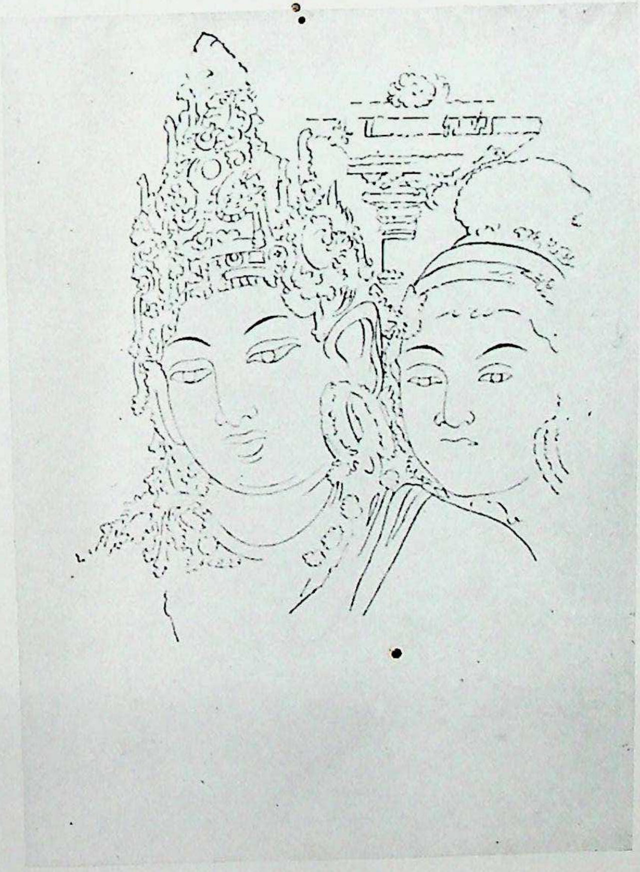

PLATE VIII. FIG. 16. MAHENDRA AND QUEEN.

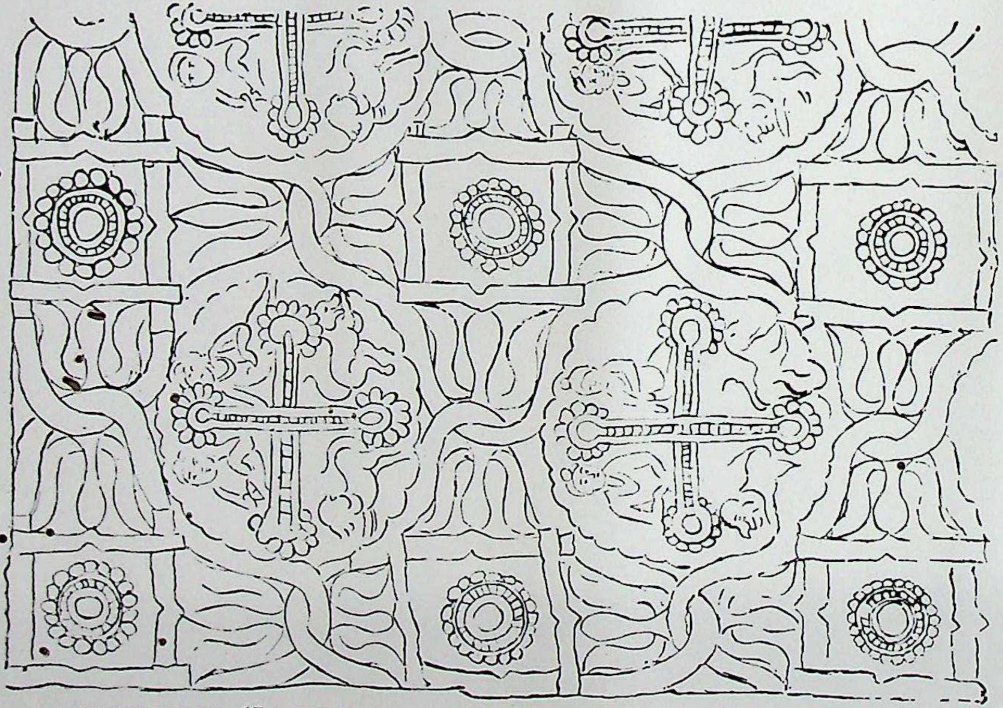

PLATE IX. FIG. 17. DESIGN OF THE PAINTING ON THE CEILING OF THE SANCTUM. SITTANNAVASAL.

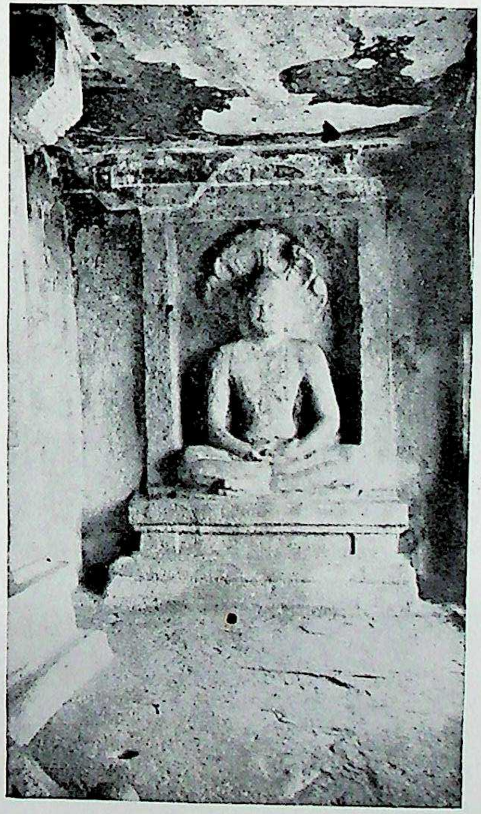

PLATE IX. FIG. 18. JAINA TIRTHANKARA.

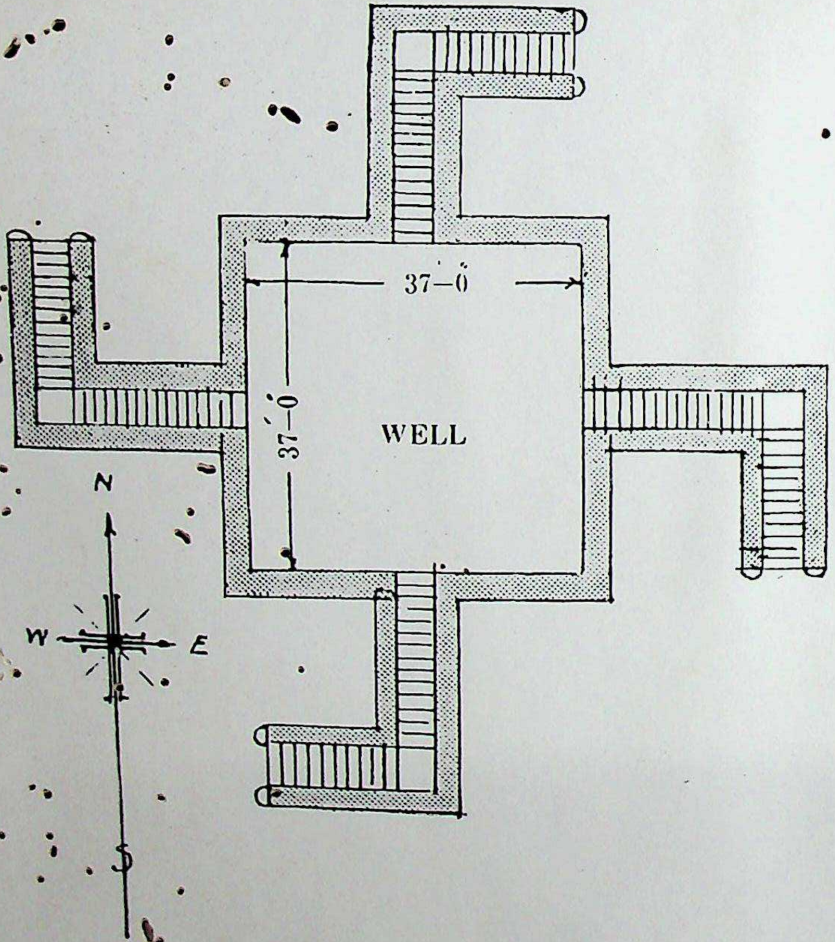
37–0
37–0
WELL
N
S
W
E

PLATE X. FIG. 19. PLAN OF THE SWASTIKA WELL, TIRUVELLARAI.

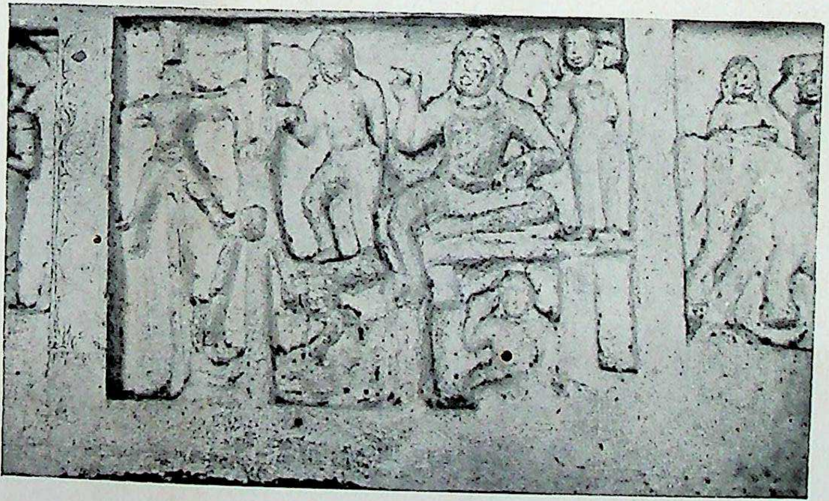

PLATE X. FIG. 20. IMPALEMENT, KANCI.